

ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH CHURCH MUSIC, 1560-1645

Raymond Eric White

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I, the undersigned, first matriculated as a research student on 1 October 1967, and have since carried out a study of all matters relating to the following thesis under the supervision of Dr. Cecil Hill.

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ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH CHURCH MUSIC

1560 - 1645

by

RAYMOND E. WHITE

1972



TH 7042

PREFACE

Much research has been done on sixteenth and seventeenth century Scottish church music. The Scottish 'Victorians', through the various nineteenth century historical and antiquarian societies (e.g. the Bannatyne, Maitland and Spalding clubs), were responsible for unearthing a considerable amount of historical material which throws light on the early Reformed Church in Scotland. Histories, diaries and other records of the Reformation period were published anew.

The first significant study of church music of the period appeared in 1864 when Dr. Neil Livingston's edition of the Scottish Psalter of 1635 was published, complete with critical essays.

Twentieth century scholars have added to knowledge on the subject. In 1935 Sir Richard Terry made an edition of the 1635 Scottish Psalter in which he gave his own (not the original) harmonizations of the psalm tunes. Dr. H.M. Willsher wrote a broad survey of Music in Scotland 1450-1750 in an unpublished St. Andrews University thesis of 1945. He touched briefly on the music and song schools of the early Reformed Church. John McQuaid dealt with the Musicians of the Scottish Reformation, with special reference to Crown Policy in his doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1949. Dr. Millar Patrick's book - Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody (O.U.P. 1949) - tells of the general history and background of the metrical psalters. Dr. Maurice Frost contributed invaluable information touching bibliographical aspects of the

psalters in his book - English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes 1543-1677 (O.U.P. 1953). And in 1957 Dr. H.S.P. Hutchison completed a transcription of the St. Andrews Psalter Manuscripts together with a critical commentary on these for her D.Mus. degree at Edinburgh University.

Dr. Kenneth Elliott of the University of Glasgow has not only examined the psalters and the manuscripts that contain music of the early Reformed Church in Scotland, but has also edited, in scholarly fashion, a selection of this music - e.g. in Music of Scotland 1500-1700, Musica Britannica vol. XV, (second edition, London, 1964); Fourteen Psalm-Settings of the Early Reformed Church in Scotland (O.U.P. 1960). Thus the music has become more widely known. Dr. Elliott has given a lucid account of the sources and the music in an article - 'Scottish Church Music of the Early Reformed Church' (Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, vol. XV, 1961, pp. 18-32), and in his Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation (1959-60) The Music of Scotland 1500-1700.

The writings of W. Cowan, H. Farmer, C. Rogers, W. Saunders, G. Sprott and C. Sanford Terry are acknowledged in their place.

The aims and objects of this thesis are to present a study of the church music in the social, religious and cultural context; to cover aspects of the subject which as yet have not been dealt with adequately; and to transcribe a representative selection of the music.

I wish to express my gratitude to the librarians and governing bodies of the following libraries for giving me all assistance in studying manuscripts and printed books in their care: the Cathedral libraries

at Christ Church Oxford, Dunblane, Durham and Ely; the University libraries at Aberdeen (King's College), Cambridge, Dublin (Trinity College), Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford (Bodleian) and St. Andrews; British Museum; Colles Library, Addington Palace; Hay Fleming Library, St. Andrews; Leighton Library, Dunblane; National Library of Scotland; New College, Edinburgh; Public Record Office, London; Scottish Record Office and H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

I would also thank: Rev. R.C. Jasper (Canon of Westminster Abbey) for guidance in liturgical matters; Rev. Dr. J.K. Cameron (St. Mary's College, St. Andrews), Professor G. Donaldson (Edinburgh University) and Rev. Dr. E. Routley (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) for direction in knotty problems of church history; Rev. Dr. R. Selby Wright (Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh), Dr. J. Steele, Professor P. Platt and Professor D.A. Byars (University of Otago, New Zealand) for the interest that they have shown in my researches.

Above all, I acknowledge most gratefully the encouragement and wise counsel of my supervisor, Dr. Cecil Hill.

Raymond E. White

Nelson
New Zealand

August 1972.

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AN OUTLINE OF MATTERS RELATING TO PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH CHURCH MUSIC

The Choral Foundations

Music played an essential part in the services of the pre-Reformation Scottish Church, as more than fifty-five choral foundations were established in cathedral and collegiate churches within the realm.

All ecclesiastical sees were not equally endowed. The wealthiest and most important was St. Andrews. Its Priory, whose Cathedral was consecrated by Bishop William Lamberton in 1318, was also a great intellectual and cultural centre. Similarly, the Cathedral Church of St. Mungo in Glasgow and those of Old Aberdeen, Elgin and Brechin, were sufficiently well-endowed to enable large musical establishments to flourish. Thirty collegiate churches were founded during the reigns of the first four Jameses. Perhaps the most notable of these, apart from the Chapel Royal of Blessed Mary and St. Michael in Stirling Castle (begun by James III), were St. Giles in Edinburgh and St. Nicholas in Aberdeen.

It is often impossible to present any detailed picture of musical life in the monastic cathedrals because of the lack of sufficient extant sources. Iona, Cathedral of the Isles, and Whithorn are cases in point. Even references to music-making in St. Andrews Cathedral are slight and incidental. From an examination of existing statutes, however, it is possible to draw up a table of the known choral foundations and to give the size of the choir and other relevant information where this is forthcoming.

Choral Foundations in Pre-Reformation Scotland¹

CATHEDRALS

Cathedral	Size of Choir	Date of Statutes	Remarks
Old Aberdeen ² (St. Machar)	24 s-m. 8 c.	1540	The wealthiest Cathedral whose income in 1561 was equal to £5170
Brechin ³	17 s-m. 6 c.	1453 1429	
Dornoch ⁴	10 s-m. 3 s-m.	1225? 1561	
Dunblane ⁵	12 s-m.	1522	
Dunkeld ⁶	13 s-m.	about 1500	

1. The numbers of singing-men and boys are those mentioned in the dated Statutes but it should be noted that these numbers were not always constantly maintained.

Abbreviations used in the table: s-m. = singing men
c. = boy choristers

2. D. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses : Scotland, London, 1957, p.167.
3. Registrum episcopatus Brechinensis, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1856, vol. I. No.33 and No.34 and vol. II. No. 52.
4. D. Easson, op. cit. p.167.
5. ibid. p.168.
6. Rentale Dunkeldense, Scottish Historical Society Edinburgh, 1915, pp. 346-51;
A. Myln, Vitae Dunkeldensis ecclesiae episcoporum, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 2, 55-68.

Elgin ⁷	18 s-m. and some c. (no specific number mentioned)	1489	
Fortrose ⁸ (St. Peter)	5+ s-m. (may have later reached up to 20) some c. (no specific number mentioned)	1255	
Glasgow ⁹ (St. Mungo)	20 or more s-m. 4+ c.	1501-2	Glasgow was made an Archbishopric in 1492.
Kirkwall, Orkney Islands ¹⁰ (St. Magnus)	13 s-m. 6 c.	1544	
Lismore ¹¹	uncertain	?	James V in 1512 spoke of the Cathedral as being ruinous and deserted.

-
7. Registrum episcopatus Moravienses, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1837, no. 210.
 8. D. Easson, op. cit. p.170.
 9. Chronica de Mailros, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1835, p. 611-2.
 10. Registrum magni sigilli regum Scotorum III, no.3102; J. Mooney, The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1947.
 11. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 171.

COLLEGIATE AND PARISH CHURCHES

Church	Size of Choir	Date of Statutes	Remarks
Aberdeen ¹² (St. Nicholas)	22 s-m. 16 s-m. some c. (no specific number mentioned)	1491 1519	
Abernethy ¹³	5 s-m.	1364-5	
Biggar ¹⁴	8 s-m. 4 c.	1545-6	
Bothans ¹⁵	6 s-m.	1535-6	
Bothwell ¹⁶	8 s-m. 2 c.	1477-8	
Carnwath ¹⁷	6 s-m.	1424	
Corstorphine ¹⁸ (St. John Baptist)	8 s-m. 4 c.	1444 1436-7	
Crail (St. Mary) ¹⁹	11 s-m. 4 c.	1517	

12. ibid. p. 174;
Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis,
New Spalding Club, 1892, p. 231.
13. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 174.
14. ibid.
15. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 175
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail, Grampian
Club, London, 1877, No. 102, 103.

Crichton ²⁰	8 s-m. 2 c.	1499
Cullen ²¹	6 s-m. 2 c.	1543
Dalkeith ²²	about 9 s-m. 3 c.	1503
Dumbarton ²³	about 6 s-m.	1453-4
Dunbar ²⁴	8 s-m. some c.?	1342
Dunglass ²⁵	3-13 s-m.	1443-4
Dunrossness ²⁶	some s-m. (no specific number mentioned)	?
Edinburgh - St.Giles ²⁷	about 15 s-m. 4 c.	1468-9
- St.Mary-in the-fields ²⁸	10 s-m.	about 1510
- Trinity College ²⁹	8 s-m. 2 c.	1462

-
20. Registrum domus de Soltre, necnon ecclesie collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburgh etc.
Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1861, pp. 306 ff.
21. W. Cramond, Church and Churchyard of Cullen, Buckie 1886, pp.34 ff.
22. Registrum Honoris de Morton, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1853, vol. II, p. 230.
23. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 177.
24. ibid.
25. ibid. p. 178.
26. ibid.
27. Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, 1864, No. dcccxxxvii.
28. National Library of Scotland, MS. 31.3.13.
29. D. Easson op.cit. p. 179.

Fowlis ³⁰	7 s-m.	1538
Glasgow (Our Lady College) ³¹	8+ s-m. 3 c.	1525
Guthrie ³²	3-4 s-m.	about 1479
Haddington ³³	numerous s-m. (no specific number mentioned)	about 1540
Hamilton ³⁴	6 s-m.	1450-1
Innerpeffray ³⁵	some s-m. (no specific number mentioned)	1506-42
Kilmaurs ³⁶	8 s-m. 2 c.	1413
Kilmun ³⁷	about 6 s-m.	1441
Lincluden ³⁸	9-11 s-m.	1389
Lochwinnoch ³⁹	6 s-m.	1504

30. ibid. p. 180

31. ibid.

32. ibid.

33. ibid.

34. ibid. p. 181.

35. ibid.

36. ibid.

37. ibid.

38. ibid. p. 182.

39. R.L. Mackie, King James IV of Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1958, p. 153.

Maybole ⁴⁰	3-4 s-m.	1383-4	
Methven ⁴¹	5 s-m. 4 c.	1433	
Peebles ⁴²	12 s-m. 2 c.	1543	
Restalrig ⁴³	about 9 s-m.	about 1487	Restalrig was a Royal Chapel from 1487 at least.
Rosslyn Chapel ⁴⁴	6 s-m. 2 c.	about 1521	
St. Andrews (St. Mary- on-the-Rock) ⁴⁵	about 9 s-m.	1501	
Temple ⁴⁶	6 s-m. 2 c.	1504	
Seaton ⁴⁷	6-7 s-m. 2 c.	1470	
Stirling Chapel Royal (Blessed Mary and St. Michael) ⁴⁸	16 s-m. 6 c.	1501	

40. D. Easson, op. cit. p.182.

41. ibid.

42. Charters and documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1872, pp. 61-4.

43. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 183

44. ibid.

45. ibid. p. 184.

46. Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Edinburgh, vol. II, No.483.

47. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 185.

48. ibid.

C. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1882, p. XXXI.

Stirling (Holy Rood) ⁴⁹	some s-m. (no specific number mentioned)	about 1545	A college of 'priest- choristers'.
Strathmiglo ⁵⁰	some s-m. (no specific number mentioned) 3 c.	1501-4	
Tain ⁵¹	5+ s-m. 3 c.	1487	

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CHAPELS

Chapel	Size of Choir	Date of Statutes	Remarks
St. Andrews University			
- St. Salvator's ⁵²	3-10 s-m.	from 1450 on	
- St. Leonard's ⁵³	20 s-m.	1512	
- St. Mary's ⁵⁴	-	1554	
Aberdeen Uni- versity			
- King's College ⁵⁵	8 s-m. 4 c. 6 c.	1505 1529	

49. D. Easson, op. cit. p. 186.

50. ibid.

51. ibid. p. 186;

National Library of Scotland MSS. 34.3.11, p. 198;
and 34.2.1, vol. I. p. 57.

52. R.G. Cant, The College of St. Salvator, Edinburgh
and London, 1950.

53. J. Herkless and R.D. Hannay, The College of
St. Leonard, Edinburgh and London, 1905, p. 129.

54. Evidence to the Royal Commission in St. Andrews
University, London, 1837.

55. Fasti Aberdonenses - Selections from the records of
the University and King's College of Aberdeen,
1494-1854, Spalding Club, 1854, pp. 46, 68.

The Choral Foundations: Organization and Musical Personnel

The majority of foundations supported between six to twelve vicars-choral or singing men, and between two to six choir-boys. Old Aberdeen Cathedral stands out as having an exceptionally large choir, by Scottish standards: twenty-four singing men and eight choristers in 1540. The smallest choir capable of singing polyphonic settings of the Mass would number ten to twelve, and this was the statutory minimum required for the maintenance of Divine Service at the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, in 1491:

...no mass shall be sung without twelve persons and the priest that sings the mass.⁵⁶

The singing men were variously called 'chaplains of the choir' (as at Dunblane and Corstorphine), 'stallers' (Elgin), 'prebendaries of the choir' (Crichton and Dunbar), 'ministers of the choir' (St. Giles, Edinburgh) and 'priest choristers' (Holy Rood, Stirling). The boys of the choir were usually referred to as 'boy choristers' (as at Dunglass and Kirkwall) or 'boy clerks' (Bothwell and Dalkeith).⁵⁷

In those places where there were song schools erected for the training of choir-boys, care was taken to ensure that they received instruction in both music and grammar. Presumably they were taught as much ecclesiastical Latin as was necessary to sing the services properly. At Kirkwall Cathedral, for example, Bishop Robert Reid laid down in 1544 that the six boys ordained to be taper-bearers and to sing 'responses and verses' in the choir, were to be taught at the song school by two educated 'chaplains of the choir'.

56. Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, New Spalding Club, 1892, pp. 226-230.

57. see footnotes 5, 18, 7, 20, 24, 27, 49, 25, 10, 16 and 22 respectively.

...regarding the stall-holders ...the first of them, the chaplain of St. Peter, shall be a Master of Arts and an erudite grammarian. He also shall attend on solemn and feast days in his surplice in the choir for two or at least one greater hour. The second /stallholder/ shall be chaplain of St. Augustine, and must be a Doctor in both kinds of song by all their number; and before his installation shall be examined in the same manner as the Succentor /sub-cantor/ as he will be the Master of the Song School ... And those two masters shall be bound to teach freely all the boys of the choir, and the poor people who are willing to be taught.⁵⁸

There was provision made for a resident choir school of six boys at Brechin Cathedral in 1429.⁵⁹ Elgin Cathedral Chapter in 1489 ordained that the Precentor was to hold a song school and appoint a suitable man to instruct those who came for singing and reading.⁶⁰ Similarly, at St. Mary's Church, Crail, there was a school for choristers by 1525. Two schools were established within the burgh in that year - one for grammar and the other for music. Apparently both schools were immediately adjoining the church.⁶¹ The Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail notes:

/James Browne/ and his successors are to have charge of the song school, and instruct the scholars in plainsong - precantus et discantus ... also to reside continually at the said college under penalty ... /The song school master/ should be of sufficient literature, skilful in song and discant, and should serve with the other prebendaries in the choir at six in the morning

58. J. Mooney, Kirkwall, pp. 52, 138.

59. D. Easson, op/ cit. p. 167.

60. ibid. p. 169.

61. M.F. Conolly, Fifiana, Glasgow, 1869, p. 136.

in matins, at eight in the missa dominicali in the aisle of St. Mary, and after that at Ave Gloriosa, at ten at high mass, and at four afternoon at Vespers, unless in time of Lent, when vespers were sung immediately after high mass; at five o'clock compline ...⁶²

Not only were the boys catered for, but also the chaplains of the choir themselves normally had to be sufficiently imbued with languages (grammaticalibus), and learned in Gregorian chant and discant. In some cases (at Crail, for example) they were required to be organists as well.⁶³ In the larger foundations it is most likely that lay-members of the choir were employed as well as the ordained clergy. Such would seem to be the case at St. Nicholas' church, Aberdeen, where there is a reference to the chaplains - 'as well those hired as those endowed'.⁶⁴ It was the accepted practice in the cathedrals that the choir-men sang the services on behalf of the Canons who were at that time very grand persons.

There are Statutes of c.1450, 1491, 1500 and 1519 regarding the choir of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen. These throw a good deal of light on matters of choir organization and discipline.

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62. Crail Register, ed. C. Rogers, p. 33. These several examples of choir schools refute John McQuaid's curious statement that 'with the single exception of Brechin, the Scottish Cathedrals had no colleges of choristers such as were found in England.' Quoted from his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation - Musicians of the Scottish Reformation, with special reference to Crown Policy, Edinburgh University Library, 1949, p.4.
63. Crail Register, ed. C. Rogers, 6 May 1522, p.49.
64. Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai, p.222.

The Statutes made by the learned and eminent William Elphinstone (Bishop of Aberdeen 1488/9-1514) are worth quoting in detail, since they show something of the problems of the time:

Statutes for the maintenance of Divine Service, 1491.

Item, it is statut and ordained that all chaplains who are absent from solemn processions or solemn feasts shall pay one penny, unforgiven; and that they are not to say mass in time of processions and persons making offerings.

Item, that no chaplain of the college, or out of it, shall take the choir books out of the choir, under pain of one penny for each transgression.

Item, it is statut that no chaplain pass out of the choir from the beginning to the end of hours, masses, mattins, and evensong, and specially from the Mass of the Holy Blood, without leave asked of the president or vicar, and failing him, of the curate, and in his absence, the collector.

Item, that none hold conversation in the choir in time of the hour under the same penalty that he would incur if he were absent from that hour /i.e. one penny/.

Item, all chaplains that do not keep the 'Seculorum' and tune given them by the chantor, executor of the office, or president for the time, shall desist under pain of an English penny, unforgiven.

Item, that no mass shall be sung without twelve persons and the priest that sings the mass.

Item, it is statute and ordained for the upholding of God's service that no person shall be received into the college at any man's request unless he is a chorister, a singer of plainsong that can sing anthems /antiphons/, responsaries, versicles, epistles, gospels, masses, and legends.⁶⁵

About 1500, Bishop Elphinstone introduced a 'fault book' to be kept by the Hebdomadar (the chaplain charged with this duty for the week) according to the pattern of the

65. ibid. pp. 226-30.

Cathedral Church in Old Aberdeen. The idea was to take note of all faults and to note the absentees from the services. By 1519, however, there was still much to put right, and an Act for Reformation of certain Abuses was made on 14 July of that year. The chaplains were bidden to attend attentively to the Divine service when it was celebrated or sung, and to wear decent cathedral habits. On Saturday mornings after Mattins, the chaplains, choir-boys and ministers met in the chapter-house in order to punish failures, and to make arrangements for the coming week. Two singers, one for the Decani side of the choir and the other for the Cantoris, were chosen and appointed to have the ruling of the choir for the week. They were to note all failures and mistakes occurring in the time of Divine office. This was worked on a weekly rota system. If a chaplain intended to be absent from a service, it was his duty to appoint a capable deputy to take his place. The Bishop also found it necessary to instruct those clerks not in Holy Orders to occupy a seat in the front row of the choir stalls during services, and not to presume to enter the canopied stalls.⁶⁶

The contemporary writer, Alexander Myln, has left us an interesting set of pen-portraits of the staff of Dunkeld Cathedral. We learn that the sub-chanter was 'devout, courteous, and kindly and very entertaining company.' The vicars-choral, according to Myln, were talented and virtuous - 'modest, honourable, skilled in music', or 'devout and ingenuous, always speaking as his heart dictated', or 'a hater of sloth, careful of his furniture, a keen gardener.' One of the clerics,

66. ibid. p.232.

although by nature short-tempered, had 'a very kind heart.'⁶⁷

One of the prime purposes of the many collegiate and religious communities (the Benedictines at Dunfermline Abbey, the Cistercians at Melrose Abbey and the Augustinians at St. Andrews Priory, for example) was to sing the 'Missa pro defunctis' for the souls of the founders and past benefactors. Scottish Lords were often patrons or founders of collegiate churches. The college of 'secular priests' at Lochwinnoch, founded in 1504 by John, first Lord Semple, included a provost and six chaplains who every day at the end of High Mass were to go to the tomb of the founder and sing the 'De profundis'.⁶⁸ In the records of the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, there are many notices such as this one:

The obit of the late Thomas Blinsele, on Passion Sunday 1455; whose anniversary shall be celebrated annually at the Altar of St. Peter on the said Sunday, with a mass sung from the music, and trental of masses /i.e. a service of thirty Masses/ throughout the week following, as the custom is.⁶⁹

The greater border Abbeys suffered from English invasion from time to time, as did St. Mary-in-the-fields (Edinburgh) and the Church at Peebles. The Collegiate Churches of Restalrig, St. Mary-on-the-Rock (St. Andrews) and the Stirling Chapel Royal were among the foundations that suffered destruction at the hands of the Reformers.⁷⁰

67. A. Myln, Vitae Dunkeldensis ecclesiae episcoporum, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 68-70. Rentale Dunkeldense, Scottish Historical Society, Ser. II, vol. X, Edinburgh, 1915, pp. 329-31.

68. R.L. Mackie, King James IV, p. 153.

69. Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai, p. 190.

70. For an account of a musician who studied at Culross and Kinloss Abbeys see - I. Ferrerius, Historia abbatum una cum vita Thomae Chrystalli abbatis, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1839, pp. 61-2.

The Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle was founded by James III (reigned 1460-88) and recognized by Pope Alexander VI. It was richly endowed in order that the musical services could be properly maintained. James had plenty of examples on which to model his own chapel, for the French Dukes of Anjou, Bar, Bourbon, Brittany and Orleans all kept chapels at this time. So did the English Kings. The English Chapel Royal of Edward IV was especially noted as being a large musical establishment.

It is of interest to note that the thing that led directly to the death of James III was his provision for a Chapel Royal Choir. To support its expenses he annexed to the Chapel in 1484 the Priory of Coldingham in the Merse.⁷¹ The Homes and Hepburns claimed that the Priory was their perquisite. They, supported by the Lords of Angus and Argyle, engaged in battle against the King and his northern Lords. During this combat the King was murdered near Bannockburn - 11 June 1488.

James IV, whose reign (1488-1513) saw a peak in Scottish intellectual and cultural history, continued to build up his father's foundation, and in a letter to Pope Julius II, dated February 1508-9, he spoke of the Chapel as a 'rich augmentation of divine worship.'

Nowhere are divine offices more fully celebrated, some ministering almost day-long at the college, some following the King, some the Queen; it would be a pity if it suffered offence or loss.⁷²

71. Sir John Skene, The 'Lawes and Actes of Parliament', maid be King James the First and his successours, Kingess of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1597, p. 73.

72. The Letters of James IV, 1505-1513, Scottish Historical Society, Ser. III, Edinburgh, 1953, vol. 45, p. 137.

In reply, Julius II confirmed the maintenance of all the privileges granted to the chapel, and made it an autonomous Bishpropric, answerable only to the Pope himself.⁷³ The numerical strengthening of the choir, in 1501, to sixteen canons, sixteen prebends 'skilled in song' and six 'boy clerics competently trained in song, or fit to be instructed therein',⁷⁴ enabled half of the choir to perform duties at the Castle and the other half to travel with the King. There were Royal houses at Holyrood, Stirling, Linlithgow and Falkland. The Royal household, including the Chapel, spent Christmas at Linlithgow on at least four occasions,⁷⁵ The Clerks of the chapel ushered in Christmas day with the singing of carols at the entrance to the King's chamber.⁷⁶ Was William Dunbar's delightful carol Rorate coeli desuper⁷⁷ included in the choir's repertoire? Maybe the choir knew the charming 'Balulalow',⁷⁸ - but we cannot be certain.

A Stirling Castle Inventory of 1505 listed:

Three pairs of organs, of which one is of wood and the other two of pewter lead.⁷⁹

Records show that the chapel instruments were carefully kept, for in the next year the Canon of Holyrood was paid £7 for the repairing of the organs at Stirling and in

73. ibid. Letter 252, p.149.

74. C. Rogers, Chapel Royal, p.xxxi.

75. Compota Thesauriorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. vol.I.ed. T. Dickson, Edinburgh, 1877-1902, pp.99, 101, (1488), 171 (1490). 183-4 (1491), 257, 267 (1495).

76. ibid. pp. 102, 129, 174.

77. The original words are found in William Dunbar Poems, ed. J. Kinsley, Oxford, 1958, pp. 1-2.

78. Musica Britannica XV. no.69.

79. C. Rogers, Chapel Royal, p. xlix.

1511, Gillean, the King's organ-builder, was paid £8-3s.:

For expensis maid be him on the said organis,
in gait skynnys and parchement for the bellis
in nailles and aprentis, of irne, in glew,
papis, candill, coill ...⁸⁰

There is also a record of an organ in the Royal Palace at Linlithgow in 1646.⁸¹

The University College Chapels

Although music never attained the status of a faculty in its own right in any of the Scottish medieval universities, it was included (at least theoretically) among the seven liberal arts of the medieval curriculum:

Grammatica loquitur, Dialectica vera locet,
Rhetorica verba colorat; Musica canit,
Arithmetica numerat, Geometria ponderat,
Astrologia colit astra.⁸²

References to the actual names of university musicians are sparse,⁸³ but there is no doubt that music played an integral part in the university chapel services.

St. Andrews University was founded by Bishop Henry Wardlaw in 1412 and recognised as a 'studium generale' by Pope Benedict XIII in 1413. Each of the three

80. ibid. p. liii.

81. J.G. Dalyell, Musical Memoirs of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1849, p.123.

82. Anonymous oft-quoted lines concerning the function of each subject. See L. Cole, A History of Education, New York, 1960, p.142.

83. George, second Lord Setoun studied at St. Andrews and Paris about the 1470's and was 'cunning in divers sciences, as astrology, music and theology' (Scots Peerage, vol. VIII, p.579). James Baldov, vicar of Leuchars parish church and a candidate for the Rectorship at St. Andrews, 28 February 1542-3, was said to be skilled in the art of music (Acta Rectorum, vol. II, p.25).

St. Andrews colleges made statutory provision for a 'collegium' of chapel singers.⁸⁴ St. Salvator's College, established on a very grand scale by Bishop James Kennedy (scion of the Royal House of Stewart, Bishop of St. Andrews 1440-1465, and Chancellor of Scotland), provided for study in arts and theology. The college had a song school before 1534, and everything was duly ordered for the maintenance of Divine praise.⁸⁵ At St. Leonard's College,⁸⁶ founded in 1512 by Archbishop James Stewart (1495-1513) and Prior John Hepburn (c.1460-1522), the rules governing the admittance of scholars were more precise. There were to be twenty scholars well skilled in the art of writing, instructed in Gregorian chant and, if possible, in polyphonic music:

... viginti scolares omnes in grammaticalibus (et eorum aliqui ut apciiores fiant ad nostrum principale sanctiandree collegium in divinis officiis sustentandum et decorandum in cantu saltem gregoriano et si commode fieri possit eciam in discantu). - Statute of 1512.⁸⁷

The famed Protestant martyr, Patrick Hamilton, joined St. Leonard's in 1523. Alesius, a contemporary, stated that Hamilton, while at St. Leonard's, 'composed what the musicians call a mass arranged in parts for nine voices, in honour of the angels', and that the composer himself acted as precentor of the choir when it was sung

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84. Evidence to the Royal Commission in St. Andrews University, London, 1837, pp. 272, 274, 361, 362.
85. R.G. Cant, The College of St. Salvator, p. 28. See ch.III of this thesis, p. 59 for a list of chapel music books.
86. For a short account of the college's history, see - R.G. Cant, The Kirk and College of St. Leonard, St. Andrews, 1967.
87. J. Herkless and R. Hannay, The College of St. Leonard, p. 129.

in the cathedral.⁸⁸ Since Hamilton was burned in 1528 for his bold, unorthodox preaching, his composition must have been written in 1523 or soon after. Archbishop James Beaton (c.1473-1539) began the foundations of St. Mary's College in 1537. Statutes dated 1554 paid attention to the performance of musical offices.⁸⁹

Glasgow University, established by Bishop Turnbull in 1451, was ill-endowed and had no buildings until 1460. The foundation statutes contain no reference to music - not surprisingly, perhaps, since the College of Glasgow, unlike the St. Andrews Colleges had no pre-Reformation chapel: it was very closely linked with the Cathedral and one must suppose that its members fulfilled their obligations and did their singing there. An inventory of college possessions made in 1582 contains the entry, 'xvi buikes or thareby or sangis and messes' (i.e. anthems and masses): they have long since disappeared although the rest of the library of that date survives practically intact.⁹⁰

Aberdeen University, founded by Bishop Elphinstone and King James IV in 1495, was well-endowed. Two years after the foundation, Elphinstone gave a set of liturgical directions regarding the music at King's College Chapel. Six prebendary-priests were required to sing daily services in the choir. Two early sixteenth century foundation charters increased the numerical strength of the chapel choir. A charter of 1501 made provision for

88. Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588, ed. A.I. Dunlop, Edinburgh and London, 1964, p.clx.

89. Evidence to the Royal Commission in St. Andrews University, 1837, pp. 361-2.

90. Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, Glasgow, 1854; Original Statutes in the official charge of the Clerk of the Senate, University of Glasgow.

eight prebendary-priests skilled in Gregorian chant and preferably competent in polyphony, faburden and descant. Four able youths or poor boys were to be instructed in Gregorian chant so that the fruits of knowledge and the worship of God might be increased. Bishop Gavin Dunbar's charter of 1529 increased the number of poor boys suitable for singing to six. The duties of the chanter, as principal college chaplain, were to rule the cantors in the rising and falling of the chant, to control the choir, to have charge of the music books and to correct errors in singing and in ceremony. He was to maintain the school of chanting by himself, and to instruct the six boys and others wishing to study music and singing.⁹¹

Music and Musicians

Lists of pre-Reformation music books are easy to find. At Crail an Inventory of music books in the choir included:

Twa hail bukis of the temporale callit Aspitiens,
and twa hail bukis of the sanctis callit
Sanctorum ... thre auld antiphonallis ... tene
psalteris, all parchement, and fyne hand ... ane
lettronale in grit volume, contenant the breiffis
off antamys, ymis, rundis, graillis, and all.⁹²

At the Stirling Chapel Royal, an Inventory of 1505, made during the incumbency of James Allardyce, Provost of Kirkheugh, as Dean of the Chapel-lists:

Four large music books written on parchement,
having divers capital letters gilt ... two
volumes in parchement with notes of counter-
points.⁹³

As for the music itself, surprisingly little is known. The Reformers were very destructive. Monophonic

91. F.C. Eeles, King's College Chapel Aberdeen: its fittings, ornaments and ceremonial in the sixteenth century, Edinburgh, 1956, pp. 86-9.

92. Crail Register, ed. C. Rogers, p.65.

93. C. Rogers, Chapel Royal, p. xlix.
For other lists see - ch.III of this thesis, p.59;
and Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai, pp.14,xxxi.

plain song would have constituted the staple diet; and later polyphonic motets and masses were introduced.

Gregorian chant according to the Sarum Use was predominant throughout medieval England, and it seems as though the majority of Scottish Dioceses came to adopt it too. It was the Sarum Use, for example, that had been introduced at Dunkeld Cathedral during the Bishopric of Geoffery (1236-1250).⁹⁴ It is significant that the Canons of Salisbury Cathedral in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were well known as influential liturgical scholars, and that the Bishop of Salisbury was, and indeed still is, the official precentor of the Province of Canterbury. However, local variations grew up within certain Religious communities and Dioceses -

And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm of England; some following Salisbury Use, some Hereford Use, and some the Use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln⁹⁵

and by 1509, Bishop Elphinstone had published his Aberdeen Breviary 'after our awin Scottis use ... to be usit generally within al our Realm'.⁹⁶

There are two important medieval music manuscripts which may have Scottish connections.

'Codex Wolfenbittel 677', now in the Wolfenbittel Herzogliche Bibliothek, is the earliest preserved manuscript containing the 'Magnus liber organi' of the School

94. J. Dowden, Bishops of Scotland, Glasgow, 1912, p.55; and see ch.III of this thesis, p.59.

95. 'Concerning the Service of the Church', Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

96. J. Dowden, op. cit. p.132.

of Notre Dame in Paris. Although the content of the manuscript is largely French in origin (including compositions by Leoninus and Perotinus), the eleventh Fascicle contains a collection of two part music very likely of British origin, but not necessarily Scottish. The manuscript may have been written in Scotland for the use of the Priory of St. Andrews, about the middle of the thirteenth century.⁹⁷

St. Andrews University library possesses an uncatalogued medieval music manuscript. This is a Gradual or "Grail" and was written around the middle of the fourteenth century, evidently for a Franciscan house. It follows the Roman Use and at the places where specifically Franciscan feasts occur (i.e. Sts. Antony of Padua, Bonaventure, Clare and Francis) a fourteenth century hand had made a note of the feast in the margin, perhaps as a guide to the secular rubricator.⁹⁸

There was a good deal of cultural, literary, economic and intellectual contact with England and the Continent. Scotland had concluded the first formal treaty of the Auld Alliance with France as far back as 1295. There was a Scots College in Paris in the precincts of Saint-Jean-de-Lateran, founded by the Bishop of Moray in 1326. There was a Scots monastery in early fifteenth century Vienna, and there were Scottish colonies at Orleans and Padua.⁹⁹ Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews from 1539,

97. There is a facsimile edition by J.H. Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Book, O.U.P. 1931, Transcriptions of six pieces are included in The Historical Anthology of Music, edited by A.T. Davison and W. Apel, vol. I, Harvard University Press, nos. 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 39.
98. 'Innes Review', vol. 6, Glasgow, 1955.
99. A.M. Mackenzie, The Rise of the Stewarts, Edinburgh and London, 1957, p. 117.

held the Sees of San Stefano in Monte Celio and Mirepoix in France.¹⁰⁰ There are many references to the coming and going of musicians. In 1503 James IV gave 'scholar-minstrels' leave of absence to buy instruments in Flanders.¹⁰¹ In 1552 James Lauder, a young prebend of the collegiate church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, was given leave by the Burgh Council to study music in England and France.¹⁰² The Aberdeen musicians John Black and John Fethy both left Scotland about 1556, but returned to their native country at a later date. The best known name amongst the influx of foreign musicians in Scotland is that of David Riccio, a Piedmontese. He came in 1561 as a bass singer for Chapel Royal choir of Mary, Queen of Scots, and was later secretary for French affairs.¹⁰³ It follows, therefore, that foreign church music had abundant opportunity to become known in Scotland.

There are two important sixteenth century manuscript sources of polyphony - masses and motets - to consider. These are the Carver Choir-Book,¹⁰⁴ compiled during the

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100. D. Mathew, James I, London, 1967, p.14
101. W. Dauney, Ancient Scottish Melodies, Edinburgh and London, 1838, p.357 and App. III.
102. H.M. Shire, 'Musical Servitors to Queen Mary Stuart' in Music and Letters, vol.40. no. 1, January, 1959, p.18;
The Scots Musical Museum, vol.I, Pennsylvania, 1962, pp. xxvi - xxxiv.
103. J.D. Mackie, A History of Scotland, Harmondsworth, 1966, pp. 167, 168.
104. National Library of Scotland MS. Adv. 5.1.15. For a detailed account see K. Elliott, 'The Caver Choir-book', Music and Letters, vol. 41, no. 4, October 1960, pp. 349 - 357.

first half of the century, and the Dunkeld Antiphonary¹⁰⁵ (or 'Antiphonarium Ecclesiae Dunkeld') dating from the mid-sixteenth century. The Choir-Book, which is the earliest extant manuscript of church polyphony in Scotland, contains motets by the Englishmen William Cornysh (1465-1523) and Robert Fayrfax (died 1521); Magnificats set by Nesbett, and Walter Lambe (fl. second half of fifteenth century); A Mass on 'L' Homme armé' by the Brugundian Dufay; five Mass settings and two motets by the Scotsman Robert Carver (c.1490- ?); and fourteen other works, some of which may be of Scottish authorship. The Choir-Book exhibits much variety of vocal grouping, ranging from an anonymous piece for two voices to Carver's large-scale motet 'O bone Jesu'¹⁰⁶ for nineteen voices. A study of the music in the Carver Choir-Book reveals similarities of style and technique to the music of the Eton Choir-Book (1490-1502) and to other music of that Henrican period. In fact the contents of the Eton and Carver Choir-Books actually overlapped to some extent.

Music in the Dunkeld Part-Books¹⁰⁷ is traceable to a larger number of composers. There are motets by the Frenchman Pierre Certon (died 1572 - pupil of Josquin and Maître de Chapelle at the Sainte Chapelle, Paris), and Claude de Sermisy (also priest-musician at the Sainte Chapelle) is represented by his motet 'Maria stans sub cruce'. There are three motets by Jachet of Mantua; 'Infelix ego' by Adrian Willaert; a mass 'Jhesu Christe'

105. Edinburgh University Library MS. 64. See - 'Church Musick at Dunkell' by K. Elliott, Music and Letters, vol. 45, no. 3, July 1964.

106. Printed in Musica Britannica XV, no.5, and in Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 16, vol.1, ed. by D. Stevens.

107. Dr. Elliott has shown that there is no evidence to claim Dunkeld provenance - op. cit. p.232. He gives a list of the contents with some identification op. cit. p.229.

by Ashwell; the motet 'Benedicta es celorum Regina' by Josquin des Prez; 'Vidi civitatem sanctum' - probably by van Wilder (composer at the English court during the 1530's); and four anonymous works.

It is evident, therefore, that contemporary Continental and English polyphony - some of it highly sophisticated - was available in Scotland. It is likely that the work of Christopher Tye and Thomas Tallis would have been fairly widely known in Scotland, for both of these composers were held in widespread regard in their own life-times. Tye's elaborate psalm-motet 'Omnes gentes plaudite', for five voices, found its way into Thomas Wood's St. Andrews Psalter Part-Books (1562 to about 1592). From the same Scottish source come the five-voice motets 'Si quis diligit me' and 'Quam Multi Domine' by Tye's Scottish contemporary David Peebles, a canon of St. Andrews Cathedral. Then there were two known Anglo-Scottish composers - Robert Johnson (c.1490 - c.1560) and Patrick Douglas. Several of Johnson's motets survive, the most popular (to judge by the number of sources in which it is found) being 'Domine in virtute' - a setting of the first seven verses of psalm 21. In the St. Andrews Psalter altus part-book a side note written by its compiler, Thomas Wood, informs us that the composition:

was set i/n/ Inland be ane Scottis preist,
being diletit to have beine ane heretyke fled
thair lang before reformation ...¹⁰⁸

Patrick Douglas is described in a manuscript at Christ Church, Oxford,¹⁰⁹ as a 'Priste, Scotte borne'. Three of his motets for five voices survive - 'Ubi est Abel', 'In convertendo' and 'Converte Domine' - although the tenor parts of the first two are missing.

108. British Museum MS. Add. 33933, fol. 168.

109. Christ Church, Oxford, MS. 983, No.45.

The Need for Reform

Not all clergy within the old church order were blind to the spiritual and moral decadence of the times. There were churchmen like Bishop Elphinstone and Bishop Brown of Dunkeld who, very much aware of such practices as nepotism, simony and ecclesiastical imperialism in Catholic Scotland, did a great deal to urge on a spiritual and intellectual Reformation.¹¹⁰ Following on from this ecclesiastics and laics alike were instrumental in providing constructive suggestions for the improvement of music in worship. By the 1530's a growing dissatisfaction with both the nature and the performance of church music can be detected. This age, like any other, had its musical moralists.

Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555), Poet Laureate and Lord Lyon King of Arms, thought it an absurdity to hear nuns singing psalms in Latin which they did not understand. Lindsay considered that St. Jerome, if he had been born in Argyllshire, would have written Gaelic; and that the Scriptures and Missals ought to be published at once in the vulgar tongue.¹¹¹ There was certainly a great need for church literature in the vernacular. In fact the subject became a point of concern even for the English Privy Council. On 27 February 1542-3, the Duke of Suffolk wrote to the Council:

...Rotesay hearlde telleth us that the Bible, the new Testament, and such other bokes as be set fourth within this realme in English, as the Prymer and the Psalter, be mervelously desyred now of the people in Scotlande, and saieth that if there were a cartload sent thither they wolde be bought every one; but

110. For a good general account of Reformation causes and ideals in Scotland see J.H.S. Burleigh's A Church History of Scotland, O.U.P. 1961.

111. Lord A.W.C. Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays - A memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres, London, 1849, vol. I, p.256.

my lordes there be none to gett, surely if there were, we wolde sende them sum! 112

Sir William Marton, vicar of Lathrick and founder of the Collegiate Church at Crail, took the step of sending in 1530 a petition to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland. In this petition he dealt (among other things) with the need to improve the devotional aspect of music in worship.

First, exhorting that divine service in the choir should be performed with understanding; the meaning of the words understood; the force of the accents learned, what acute and what grave, in singing etc., making devout preparation for divine praise etc.

Secondly, and above all, to seek to please God by offering the sacrifice of praise heartily; getting true grace and glory to themselves and others; kindling in the hearers love of the celestial country, devoutly representing the host of fellow citizens of the church triumphant, glorifying God in hymns and songs, as the psalmist says 'sacrificium laudis honorificabet me'.

Thirdly, to pronounce carefully the syllables, letters, consonants, and vowels, from the beginning of worship to the end, avoiding all interruptions.

Fourthly, to observe great reverence in carriage, as in knelling, prostrations, bowing leisurely and deeply, refraining from wandering and careless looks, and keeping the strictest silence.

Fifthly, singing harmoniously, so that the first chorus do not begin the verse until the second chorus have ended.

Sixthly, heartily, not sparing the voices.

Seventhly, moderately, beginning everything with due readiness, not raising the voice too high, nor falling too low.

Eighthly, with difference according to the services, etc.

Ninethly, with accord and unanimity of heart, so that all devoutly study to perform the divine praises, etc.

Tenthly, strictly charging that on every Saturday in the year in the chapter, the sundry statutes and others contained in the foundation, erection, and confirmation, or that may be established in time to come, be all collected into one table, and be weekly published and read.¹¹³

Marton's petition can be put in the same category as Samuel Sebastian Wesley's Few Words on Cathedral Music (1849), the Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X (1903), and the 1951 Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Music in Church. The writers in each case speak of the need to improve standards of performance, to give fitting musical expression to the words, and to sing music in keeping with the spirit of liturgy.

Other contemporary Scots were critical rather than constructive in their remarks. Robert Richardinus in his Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine (1530) declared that the prevalent church music did not kindle true devotion, but rather had the opposite effect. He thought that far too much time was wasted on empty music in both English and Scottish churches, to the neglect of divinity and sound learning:

Ab isto vero cantu qui nunc fere toto terrarum orbe cantatur, animos audientium non ad devotionem accendi legimus ... Bone Deus quantum ocij boni bisce temporibus in Anglia et Scotia in una missa cantanda inaniter conterunt: quarum tres, ut in plurimum singulis diebus celebrant, ita ut nec sacris literis, nec alijs literis locus reliquus sit ...¹¹⁴

As for Alexander Paterson and the Abbot of Inchcolm Priory, they, in an early sixteenth century document called

113. National Library of Scotland MS. Adv. 34-4-6. Also printed in the Crail Register, ed. C. Rogers.

114. Robert Richardinus, Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine, Scottish Historical Society, Edinburgh, 1935, p. 78.

'On Singing the Mass',¹¹⁵ apparently preferred the entire elimination of polyphony.

Lollardy had been an irritation to the old church order since the early fifteenth century. Thus Walter Kennedy could write:

The schip of faith, tempestuous wind and rane
Dryis on the see of Lollerdry that blawis.¹¹⁶

Likewise, the Lutheran influence caught on quickly in Scotland, due to the power of the public tract, sea trade, preaching, and the martyrdom of those like Patrick Hamilton (1528). By July 1525, Lutheran tracts were common enough to bring an Act of Parliament against 'any persons, strangers, that happen to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm' bringing 'any books, or works of Luther or his disciples.'¹¹⁷

Now according to the historian William Calderwood (1575-1651), John Wedderburn translated the Psalms and many of Luther's religious songs into Scottish verse. 'He turned many bawdie songs and rymes in Godlie rymes.'¹¹⁸ John Wedderburn and Robert, his brother, were evangelistic

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115. A check through catalogues and indexes of MSS. in Scottish libraries and in the British Museum has revealed no trace of this document. Although H.G. Farmer in History of Music in Scotland, London, 1947, mentions the work, it is clear that he has not himself seen it. It seems unlikely that this document is in fact still in existence.
116. Walter Kennedy, 'The Praise of Aige' in Dunbar's Poems, Edinburgh, 1834, vol. II, p. 90.
117. P. Lorimer, The Scottish Reformation, London, 1860, p. 2.
118. W. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, Wodrow Society, 1842, vol. I, p. 143.

laymen who may have studied in French and German universities. They certainly had personal knowledge of Continental affairs. It would seem possible that their Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs (also known as the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, the Wedderburn Psalms, and the Dundee Psalms) may have been among the 'werkis in our awin tounge' to which John Knox made reference and assigned to the year 1543.¹¹⁹ A.F. Mitchell in his edition of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis suggests that the songs were in vogue from about 1542.¹²⁰ These songs were obviously intended for domestic rather than liturgical use; some of them are entirely unsuitable for church purposes. It seems that a tune was indicated in only one case - 'ane sang of the Birth of Christ, with the tune of Baw Lula Low'.¹²¹ Another instance of the use of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis is found in Knox's History of the Reformation where he tells of the death of the martyr George Wishart:

After suppar he /Wishart/ held comfortable purpose of the death of Goddis chosen children, and mearly said 'Methink that I desyre earnestlye to sleep'; and therewith he said 'Will we sing a Psalme?' and so appointed the 51st Psalme, which was put in Scotishe meter, ang begane thus:

Have mercy on me now, good Lord,
After thy great mercy, etc.¹²²

The quotation from the psalm corresponds with the second verse of psalm fifty-one as found in Gude and Godlie Ballatis.¹²³ This popular literature and music must have

119. J. Knox, Works, Edinburgh, 1846, vol. I, P. 101.

120. A.F. Mitchell, Gude and Godlie Ballatis, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh and London, 1897, p. xiv.

121. Musica Britannica XV, no. 69.

122. J. Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, London 1949, ed. W.C. Dickinson.

123. Mitchell, op. cit. p. 120.

filtered through to all levels of Scottish society to a greater extent than more formal and ecclesiastical documents or even preaching could have done. Thus music aided the cause of the Reformation in this respect. The time was ripe for real reformation in Scotland.

Preistis, change your tone,
And sing in to your mother tongue
Inglish Psalmes, and ze impugne
Ze will dyne after none.¹²⁴

124. ibid. p.197.

II

ATTITUDES OF THE REFORMERS TO CHURCH MUSIC

/Parliament/ has statute and ordanit that the bischope of Rome haif na Jurisdiction nor autoritie within this realme in tymes cuming... hes annullit and declarit all sik actis maid in tymes bipast not agreing wt goddis word and now contrair to the confession of oure fayt... to be of nane avale force or effect And decernis the saidis actis and every ane of thame to have na effect nor strenth in tyme to cum...

/has/ statute and ordanit ... that no maner of person or personis in any tymes cuming administrat any of the sacramentis secretlie or in any vther maner of way bot thai that are admittit and havand power to that effect and that no maner of person nor personis say mess nor zit heir mess nor be present thairat vnder the pane of confiscatioun of all their gudes movable and unmovable ...¹

Thus by an Act of the Scottish Parliament held in Edinburgh, 24 August 1560, the old Church and all that it stood for was officially abolished. From now on the essential position and responsibility of the Scottish Reformers changed from destroying an old order to the building up of a new Church which could answer the long-range spiritual and moral needs of all classes of Scottish society, and which could supply new institutions to fill the vacuum caused by the gradual breakdown of the pre-Reformation Church. The old Church did not die overnight, nor did it die completely. Even an Act of Parliament could not force any immediate clear-cut change from

1. The Acts of Parliament of Scotland 1421 - 1707, ed. J.A. Fleming and J.H. Miller (revised edition), Edinburgh, 1908, vol. II, pp. 534-5. As it is not possible to reproduce the original autographic notation in typescript, words are here given in full, with underline denoting contracted syllables in the original.

Roman Catholicism to a Calvinist-based Protestantism. The music of the Mass could still be heard here and there.

Some evidence of the 'sung Mass' after 1560

Mary Stuart, newly returned from Catholic France, as Queen of Scots, struggled desperately to preserve the old religion and its form of worship. Indeed, she showed obstinate courage of conviction in her faith in the face of overwhelming opposition. She was not in the least persuaded by the many attempts of John Knox and the Presbyterian General Assembly to change her mind in the matter of religion. A 'supplication to the queen's Majesty and her Counsell' from the General Assembly, dated 4 July 1562, demonstrates the kind of pressure to which she was subjected:

And that your Grace and Counsell may understand what be the things we desyre to be reformed, we will begin at that quhilk we assuredly know to be the fontane and spring of uther evils that now abound in this realme, to wit, that idoll and bastard service of God, the Mess.²

It took some years to oust the 'bastard service' from the Court Chapels.

(1) Sung Mass at Court, 1560-7.

Mass was 'sung' in the proper sense of the word in the Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse during Queen Mary's personal reign and, in all probability at the Chapels Royal at Stirling and Falkland. The continued practice of Catholic worship at Court had a considerable effect on the problem of religious conformity in Edinburgh, and a

2. The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1839, vol.I p.20.

study of the records of the Canongate Kirk³ shows that in the 1560's the Chapel Royal was for a time something of a Catholic parish church, with people not only attending Mass in considerable numbers, but also being married and having their children baptized in the Queen's chapel. It is not difficult to understand that there were divided loyalties amongst the Chapel Royal musicians - loyalty to the Queen and the old Church order on the one hand; or loyalty to the new religion by law established on the other. Or the pre-eminent consideration, as far as musicians were concerned, may have been an affection for the music of the Mass itself. Alexander Pope's couplet -

... some to church repair,
Not for the doctrine but the music there.⁴

always holds good (amongst some) wherever church liturgies allow music to flourish! James Lauder, a Court musician, was always a loyal and faithful supporter of the pre-Marian cause,⁵ but according to Thomas Randolphe, in a letter to Lord Cecil, 30 December 1562:

the Queen's musitians bothe Scottes and
ffrenche refused to playe and singe at her
masse and evensonge vpon Christemas daye.
Thus is her poore soule so trobled for the
preservation of her syllye masse.⁶

Mary managed to retain some music making in her chapel services, for at the High Mass of Easter 1565 Randolphe,

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3. see - The Bulk of the Canogait, 1564-67, Session House Library, Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh.
 4. Pope's Essay on Criticism, ed. J. Butt, London, 1956, p.154.
 5. see H.M. Shire's articles - 'Musical Servitors to Queen Mary Stuart' in Music and Letters, vol. 40, no. 1. January 1959.
 6. Public Record Office, London, Document - S.P. 52 no. 7, p.217.

again in a letter to Cecil, mentions that the organ was used:

Greater triumph ther was never in anye tyme of most Poperie, then was thys Easter, the Ressurrection and at her Hye Masse. Organs was wonte to be the commen musycke; she wanted nowe nether trompet, drumme, no fyffe, baggepype nor taber.⁷

With the forced abdication of the Queen in 1567, the singing of Mass in the Chapels Royal came to an end. Among the Queen's possessions confiscated by the Regent Moray after the deposition were Mass-books, which may well have contained music, taken from her library in Edinburgh Castle and destroyed:

Item mair tayne be my Lordis Grace hym self
vj syndrie buikis.
Item tane be my Lordis Grace and brint vj
Mess Buikis.⁸

Apart from the Royal Court it is difficult to find evidence of any elaborate celebration of Mass with its accompanying music. The list of clergy and laity who, in the immediate post-1560 period, were accused of Catholic practice of all kinds, is a long one.⁹ Although this list includes the names of some fifty priests who were accused of 'mass-saying', the cases are almost entirely of surreptitious dispensing of the Catholic sacrament in private. Government, Burgh and Church records, memoirs, letters and diplomatic correspondence provide only a few circumstances where the most one can say is that Mass may have been sung in the proper sense. There does not appear to have been much opportunity for doing so; there were not enough priests, and places suitable for the purpose

7. Calendar of Scottish Papers 1547-1603 vol. II, ed. J. Bain, Edinburgh, 1900, p.148.

8. Inventaires de la Roynie Decosse, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1863, p. 187.

9. I am indebted to Miss M.H.B. Saunderson of Linlithgow for this information.

were rare. It may have happened in private recusant households among the nobility, though there is little direct evidence of this. There are, however, a number of interesting possibilities to consider.

(ii) West of Scotland, 1563

The most organized and only public attempt to set up Catholic worship in the years immediately following the Reformation settlement was that which took place in the West of Scotland at Easter 1563, when Mass was publicly celebrated in places such as Paisley, Glasgow, Cruggleton in Wigtownshire, Neilson, Cathcart, Sanquhar and the parishes in the Kennedy country in and around Maybole and at Crossraguel Abbey. The demonstration was led by the Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, and Abbot Quintin Kennedy of Crossraguel. The whole endeavour resulted in the arrest and trial of about thirty clergy and nine smaller lairds from Ayrshire. The account of the trial is given in Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials of Scotland.¹⁰ Mention is made there of 'Maister Johne Hamiltone, Sub-chantour of Glasgow' and 'Schir William Winzett, Sub-chantour in Sanctandrois'. This suggests that Mass may have been sung on those occasions.

(iii) Near Dumfries, 1585

The town of Dumfries and the surrounding district was one of the very few areas where there was a continuous attempt to foster Catholic worship under the protection of the recusant Lord Herries and other members of the Maxwell family. Mass was said regularly in Sweetheart Abbey by the last Catholic Abbot, Gilbert Brown,¹¹

10. vol. I, pp. 427-30.

11. Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. II, pp. 429, 716.

who was assisted towards the end of the century by Jesuits and other priests such as Father John Durie and John Hamilton (not to be confused with Archbishop Hamilton or with the sub-cantor at Glasgow), in the town of Dumfries itself and at the house of Lord Herries. According to a report of Father Crichton, at Christmas 1585 'in spite of persecution against the Catholics, at that time sufficiently violent, Father Dury determined to sing the whole of the office of the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, together with three masses, solemnly, in a monastery situated outside the town'.¹² This was probably at Sweetheart Abbey but may have been at Lincluden.¹³

(iv) Erskine, 1587-88

Reports of recusancy handed in to the General Assembly in February 1587-88 gave details of Lady Mar's chaplain at Erskine, Andrew Nesmith.¹⁴ He had already been involved with the authorities when his vestments and mass-books had been confiscated. It was reported that these had been replaced with new ones. It is feasible that private chaplains like Nesmith may have had freedom to celebrate Mass in a more solemn fashion than fugitive priests in more dangerous circumstances, though there is little evidence to suggest that this was so. Father Robert Abercrombie said that Lady Atholl always had at least three priests in her household.¹⁵

12. Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI, ed. W. Forbes-Leith, Edinburgh, 1885, p.205.

13. Calendar of Border Papers, vol.I, 1560-94, ed. J. Bain, Edinburgh 1894, p.216.

14. Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol.II, p.722.

15. ibid. p.551. (1582)

(v) Peill, 1587-88

A report to the General Assembly in February 1587-8 said that the Jesuits had celebrated 'public Mass' in the Laird of Leslie's house 'with two idols above the altar'. The details suggest a private chapel, properly equipped for worship.¹⁶

(vi) Lennox area, 1587

It was also reported that the Laird of Fintry in the Lennox area had been influencing the common folk with 'banqueting att Yuile, continuing three days, enduring which time all Papisticall ceremonies wer used'.¹⁷ The latter may have included a 'sung Mass' at the festive season.

(vii) House of Lord Seaton, 1581

A Jesuit report claimed: 'we celebrated daily and preached during the Christmas season in the house of Lord Seaton. The greater part of his household, which is very nenerous, being present.'¹⁸ Again in these circumstances Mass may have been sung.

These references show that the proscribing of the Mass in 1560 was but partially effective, and that celebrations of Mass continued, especially at the joyous festivals in the domestic private chapels of those powerful families not of the Reformed persuasion. Perhaps such activities were more numerous than is generally realized, for the Scottish Parliament found it necessary to pass

16. ibid. p.717.

17. ibid. p.722.

18. Catholic Narratives, p.178.

19. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol.II, p.535 and vol.III, p.22.

further Acts (in 1563 and again in 1567) in order to curb Catholicism.¹⁹ But the Protestant Reformation materialized in spite of the reigning monarch.

'The Gude Religion, the first rewel'.²⁰

First and foremost, the Reformation both on the Continent and in England and Scotland was essentially a doctrinal and moral issue. Theological matters came first. By comparison Church music and other aesthetic considerations were of little significance. It would be mistaken to imagine otherwise.

The new Scottish Church accepted Calvinist principles and practices as main guides in the formation of its doctrine, worship and system of ecclesiastical government, and there is no doubt that this type of Reformed theology eventually hindered the development of music and had strong repercussions on Scottish art and culture generally.

Influential Scottish Church leaders (John Knox in particular) had worked in Geneva with Calvin himself, and the Scottish Church's First Book of Discipline, 1560, drawn up as a plan for ordering and maintaining the new Church, was modelled on Genevan lines. The book makes it perfectly clear that music in church must take a humble rôle from now on:

There be two sort of police; the one of these sorts is utterlie necessary as that the word be preached, the Sacraments ministered, and common prayer publicly made. The other is profitable,

20. Noted in the St. Andrews Psalter bass part book (first copy) against John Fethy's composition 'O God above'.

but not necessarie, as that psalms should be sung and certain places of scripture read when there is no sermon.²¹

It follows that from 1560 onwards references to music in Parish Church records are invariably slight and incidental - when compared with pre-Reformation records. On the other hand, it would be incorrect to presume that the Calvinist philosophy on music was entirely a negative one; that would contradict Calvin's teachings and refute the material evidence.

The Calvinist Policy on Church Music

Knox wrote:

As musicke or singinge is naturall unto us, and therefore every man deliteth therein; so our merciful God setteth before our eyes, we may rejoyce and singe to the glorie of his name, recreation of our spirites, and profit of ourselves ... Seinge therefore God's Woorde dothe approve it, antiquitie beareth witenes therof, and best reformed Churches have receyved the same, no man can reprove it, except he will contemne God's Worde, despise Antiquite, and utterlie condemne the godlie reformed Churches.²²

John Calvin, John Knox and the Presbyterians following them, did not condemn music as such, but rather commended it as a gift of God to be used for pleasure and enjoyment. At no stage in Scotland was there a pronouncement, civil,

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21. The text of the 'First Book of Discipline' is incorporated in D. Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. T. Thompson, Edinburgh, 1842-99. vol. II, p. 51-120.
 22. From Knox's view on Church music as found in the preface of the 'Forme of Prayers' ... 1562 - printed in D. Laing's Knox, vol. 4, Edinburgh, 1855, pp.164, 165.

political or ecclesiastical, against music as music. At no stage was the view held that the tongue should be mute or that God should be deprived of His due praise. The tongue, said Calvin, was expressly created to sing and proclaim the praise of God. 'Music is a gift of God to recreate and give pleasure; a great force to move and inflame the heart'.²³

There is ample evidence to show that domestic music-making in Scotland continued to function at the Reformation, largely in a religious and God-fearing atmosphere. Music occupied a prominent place, for example, in Alexander Hume's manse at Logie, and doubtless in the homes of some of his parishioners. Hume (c.1560-1609) was both parson and poet, and perhaps in his writings one can detect something of the heart's glad expression of natural joy through music:

Lift up mine heart, my lips disclose,
My tendered tung untie,
Then sall my singing saull rejoice
And flee above the skie: ...
Then on my jolie Lute, by night,
And trimbling trible string,
I sall with all my mind and might,
Thy glorie glädlie sing.²⁴

In A Rehearsall of the Pleasures which we shall enjoy in the World to Come Hume tells us of the agreeable nature of music - both vocal and instrumental:

... the fine varnished musical Instruments, with many other proper inventions, and utensils

23. J. Calvin, Institutio religionis christianae, Basle, 1536, ch.20, section 31; and J. Calvin, the 'Epistle to the Reader' from the Genevan Psalter, 1543.

24. A. Hume, Hymns and Sacred Songs, 1599, ed. A. Lawson, Edinburgh and London, 1902, p.15.

devised and wrought by subtill handie crafts for the use and ease of man. These I say, and such liek sights, are very pleasant and delectable to the eies, and consequently comfortable and recreative to the spirit. In like manner, it were very delectable to the eares to heare ... most of all, earlie in the morning as the day begins to dawne, when al is under great silence, and every thing at quiet and at rest, then to heare the pleasant harmonie of Musicall Instruments cunninglie handeled, as of cornets, or fine Violls: Or to heare the sweet and delicat voices of cunning singers, intermedled with the melodious sound of Lutes, Cisters /cittern/, timbrel, Clarishoes /old Celtic harp/, or of other quiet Instruments of that kinde; which I esteem worthie to be reckoned among the chie of earthly pleasures.²⁵

University students at St. Andrews were encouraged to take part in musical activities. James Melville, in a fascinating reference, tells of his music study at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in 1574. He was then seventeen or eighteen years of age and in his fourth and final year of study:

Mairower, in these yeirs I lerned of music, wherin I tuk graitter delyt, of ane Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha haid been treaned up amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I leanned of him the gam /ut/, pleansong, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the Kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exercise thairof was within the Collage; for two or thrie of our condisciples played fellon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our Regent haid also the pinalds /spinet/ in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him ...²⁶

25. ibid. p.153.

26. The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill,
National Library of Scotland MS. 34 - 4 - 15.

It was said in 1639 that Simon, the Master of Lovat:

had a wonderful fancy for musick, variety of which he had still by him, virginels, base and trible viol in consort. He would say oft that musick was an emblem of heaven, besides that it cheered a melancholy mind. Musica mentis medicina moestis. The trumpet and great pipe, both most martiall, he would have a mornings, and vocall musick was his delight, of which he had enough. Mr. John Houstoun, the minister of Wardlaw, and his sone Mr. Thomas, were great musitians, vocall and instrumentall, who frequently attended prayer, reading, and devotion.²⁷

The references show that these persons - Hume of Logie, Melville of St. Andrews, Simon of Lovat and Houston of Wardlaw - entertained themselves with music primarily in domestic surroundings and in the company of their friends. Calvin made an important distinction between music for domestic use and music for Church use. He held that:

It must always be looked to that the song in Church be not light and frivolous but have weight and majesty ... and there is likewise a great difference between the music one makes to entertain men at table and in their homes, and the psalms which are sung in the Church in the presence of God and His angels.²⁸

'God's Woorde dothe approve it.'²⁹

Presbyterianism laid uncompromising stress on the Word of God as contained particularly in the Scriptures of the New Testament as the supreme rule of faith and life.

27. J. Fraser, Polichronicon Seu Policratica Temporum, 916 - 1674, ed. W. Mackay, Edinburgh, 1905, p.265.

28. J. Calvin, 'Epistle to the Reader' from the Genevan Psalter, 1543.

29. D. Laing, op. cit. p.164.

But the general attitude of the Presbyterians was so rigid as to admit final authority to no tradition which had not the expressed commandment of God's Word. Knox, before leaving Scotland for Geneva in the 1550's, in debate with Friar Arbuckill of St. Andrews, made his 'puritan' position quite clear:

What the Lord thy God hes commanded thee,
that do thow, add nothing to it; diminish
nothing from it. Now oneless that ye be
able to prove that God hes commanded your
ceremonies, this his former commandment will
dampne boyth you and thame.³⁰

Calvin, too, taught that it was a danger to go beyond what was authorised in scripture.³¹ 'Not to command is to forbid' wrote Samuel Rutherford in his book Divine Right (1640).³² Since organs, choirs and anthems were nowhere explicitly commanded in the New Testament to be used in public worship, they were frowned upon with disfavour.

Rutherford, Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, followed this same line of argument in his pamphlet A Dispute touching Scandall and Christian libertie (1646), claiming that anything that was not absolutely essential in worship had to be removed as scandalous. Included in his list of non-essentials were:

1. Unwritten traditions, not necessary, not written.
2. Humane mystical, symbolical singnes and Ceremonies - not necessarie, not written.
3. Humane holy dayes, crossing, knelling to Elements, Altars, Crossing, Surplice, Rochets, etc. - not necessary, not written.

30. J. Knox, Works, ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh, 184-6-8, p.199.

31. J. Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, vol. I, Trans. by J. Anderson, Edinburgh, 1845, P. 537.

32. p. 96.

4. This and this humane holy day, this crossing - not necessarie, not written.

The Knoxians were, of course, anti-ceremonial. Their opposition to anything which savoured even remotely of ceremony proceeded from their fear lest it might engender superstition or idolatry. Besides, ceremony was associated with Popery. Rutherford put the point plainly:

Now Altars, Organs, Jewish Ephods, or Surplice Masse-cloaths, and Romish Crossing, bowing to Altars, Images, are badges of Jewish and Popish Religion ... It is a Religious scandall to the users of these Ceremonies: Ceremonies devised of men, of no necessary use in Gods worship, are monuments of Idolatry, Snares drawing the practisers to Idolatry, and so unlawfull ... The Spirit worketh not with ceremonies ... who can say that the grace of joy in the Holy Ghost, wrought by the droning of Organs, and the holinesse taught by Surplice, is a work of the spirit merited by Christ as our High Priest? God hath made no promise that he will work by Ceremonies, for the spirit worketh not without the Word; so then I might resist the working of the spirit, and not sin against the Word ... If God work not by them, they be vain and fruitlesse.³³

The music of the Calvinist was a Protestant art in the sense that it was emancipated from the purpose of Roman Catholic ceremonial. At the same time the Calvinists did show an understanding of the value of music as a liturgical adjunct, although they acknowledged the dominating nature of mere musical pleasure. Concern over this latter phenomenon lies at the basis of the puritan approach to music in worship. 'We must beare', said Calvin, 'lest our ears be more intent on the music than

33. S. Rutherford, The Divine Right of Church Government, London, 1646, pp. 136, 143. Similar views are found in George Gillespie's A Dispute against English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, 1637.

our minds of the spiritual meaning of the words'.³⁴

The Reformers recognized in music the possibility of a Satanic power which must be curbed at all costs. Calvin wrote:

... every evil word corrupts good manners, but when it has the melody with it, it pierces the heart much more strongly and enters within; as wine is poured into the cask with a funnel, so venom and corruption are distilled to the very depths of the heart by melody.³⁵

The young James Melville, although musical by nature, finally renounced music as a device of Satan to debauch him:

It was the grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments; for, giff I haid attained to anie reasonable missure my amorous disposition, wherby Sathan sought even then to deboiche me; bot my God gaiff me a piece of his fear, and grait naturall shamfastness, quhilk by his grace war my preservatives.³⁶

Congregational participation in Church Music

The Reformers felt that public worship should be directed entirely towards the common edification of all.³⁷ This meant that the music had to be simple so that everyone might be able to join in the singing, and that the

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- 34. J. Calvin, Institutes, ch. 20, section 32.
 - 35. J. Calvin, the 'Epistle to the Reader' from Genevan Psalter, 1543, trans. by O. Strunk in Source Readings in Music History, London, 1952, p. 347.
 - 36. J. Melville - Autobiography and Diary.
 - 37. J. Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, Ps. 34, v.3.

words had to be in the vernacular. The fact that much pre-Reformation choir music had been elaborate and had shown musical supremacy over the words encouraged reforms to be drastic. Knox considered that Satan, through the Papists, had 'impudently abused' the gift of singing 'in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie, and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares and flatter the phantasies'.³⁸

David Calderwood's book The Altar of Damascus or The Patern of the English Hierarchie, And Church Policie obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, was published in 1621.³⁹ It gives a complete view of the question at issue between Presbyterians and Episcopalians regarding Church government, discipline and worship. Calderwood, a staunch supporter of Presbyterianism, condemned English Cathedral music because too much of the singing was performed by trained choirs. He commented that the congregation could not join in effectively in the antiphonal chanting of the psalms:

Then againe their curious singing and chanting serveth not for edification of the soule, but rather to hinder true devotion, and carie away the mind from heavenly meditation with a carnall and sensuall delite. He that singeth should be like pronuncianti quam canenti to one who pronounceth the word, then to one that singeth. Psalmes are sung by course & side after side; some few singing, the rest of the people restrained from singing.⁴⁰

Plain, unadorned congregational singing of metrical psalmody was all that the Calvinists thought necessary in the realm of music for public worship.

38. D. Laing, op. cit. p.164.

39. See also Calderwood's Altare Damascenum, 1623, pp. 489-95.

40. D. Calderwood, The Altar of Damascus ... pp. 155-6.

Instrumental Music

Calvin allowed instrumental music to be performed in private, as this was nowhere forbidden in Scripture, but not in Church. He taught that instrumental music was banished out of the Church by plain command of the Holy Ghost. To support his view, he quoted a text from St. Paul the Apostle's First Letter to the Corinthians ch.14, v.13:

... Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all; yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. (Authorised Version translation.)

On this ground Calvin rejected instrumental music in Church. He claimed that not everyone could fully appreciate or understand such music, and it was against his goal of active participation by the whole congregation.

The voice of man, although not understood by generality, assuredly excels all inanimate instruments of music.⁴¹

41. J. Calvin, Commentary of the Book of Psalms, vol. I. p.537.

Musical instruments were considered to be a distraction in worship, a symbol of outward pomp and associated with Popery.

Calvin granted that there had been some justification for the use of instruments in Jewish worship, primarily as a means of stimulation to worship. He believed, however, that this custom was no longer indiscriminately acceptable, and no more suitable in the Reformed Church than the burning of incense, the lighting of candles and the restoration of other shadows of the old law.⁴² Besides, there was no New Testament account of the employment of instruments in Church, and the Calvinists endeavoured to pay due reverence to worship and institutions based on authentic Christian Apostolicity. Nevertheless, they made the perennial mistake of projecting into an imagined antiquity some of the most unfortunate theological fashions of the time.

The Protestant theologian John Bale, (Bishop of Ossory, 1553, and later Prebendary of Canterbury) wrote an account of the problem. He imagines a conversation between an archbishop and a Calvinist:

And the archbishop said: ... 'David in his last psalm teacheth men to have divers instruments of music, for to praise therewith God'.

And I said: 'Sir, by the sentence of divers doctors expounding the Psalme of David, that music and minstrelay, that David and other saints of the old law spake of ought now neither to be taken, nor used by the letter, but these instruments, with their music, ought to be interpreted ghostly: for all those figures are called virtues and grace, with which virtues men should please God, and praise his name; for St. Paul saith, 'all such things befel them in figure'. Therefore, sir, I understand, that

42. ibid.

the letter of this psalm of David, and of such other psalms and sentences doth slay them that take them now literally. This sentence, as I understand, sir, Christ approveth himself, putting out the minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsel.'

And the archbishop said to me: 'Lewd losel: is it not leful to us to have organs in the church, for to worship therewithal God?'

And I said: 'Yes, sir, by man's ordinance: but, by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the people's understanding were mickle more pleasant to God.'

And the archbishop said: 'Organs and good delectable songs quicken and sharpen more men's wits than should any sermon.'

But I said: 'Sir, lusty men and wordly lovers delight and covet and travail to have all their wits quickened and sharpened with divers sensible solace: but all the faithful lovers and followers of Christ have all their delight to hear God's word, and to understand it truly and to work thereafter faithfully and continually.'⁴³

The Reformers held that the spiritual meaning of the words was the essential thing, not the music itself; that standards of performance were neither here nor there, if the music did not proceed from a deep feeling of the heart; and that the best musical instrument for God's praise is an upright heart.⁴⁴ 'As if the Holy Ghoste wolde saye, that the songe did inflame the heart to call upon God, and praise him with a more fervant and lyvely zeale.'⁴⁵ (Knox)

The Reformers were convinced that Psalmody was the most appropriate source of text for congregational church

43. Select Works of Bishop John Bale, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849, p.102.

44. J. Calvin, Institutes, ch. 20, section 31; W. Cowper, Works, London, 1626, p.371.

45. D. Laing, Knox, p.164.

use. Calvin records that after much searching, he could find no better songs than the Psalms of David.⁴⁶ Knox agreed, claiming that the Holy Ghost commended the Psalms to the Churches 'as conteininge the effect of the whole Scriptures, that hereby our heartes might be more lyvelie touched.'⁴⁷ Knox also mentions the songs of Moses, Ezechias, Judith, Debora, Mary and Zacharie as being suitable for church singing.

Church Disciplinary Control over Music and Musicians

The theory of Protestant discipline was of immense importance in the Scottish Reformation.⁴⁸ The Church took upon itself the task of admonishing and punishing those who did not conform to its moral standards. Disciplinary measures against errant persons of the parish are commonplace in Kirk Session records.

Thomas Bassandine, an Edinburgh printer, was ordered by a Church Assembly (July 1568) to delete a 'baudie song callit Welcum Fortoun' from his edition of the Good and Godly Ballatis.⁴⁹ He had printed this song without licence from the magistrate. Six years later certain ministers were given power 'to visite and oversee all manner of books or works that shall be proponed to be printed.' This was in effect an introduction of censorship.

The playing of bagpipes in the streets on Sundays, during the time of the sermon on Wednesdays, and in the

46. J. Calvin, The 'Epistle to the Reader' from the Genevan Psalter, 1543.

47. D. Laing, op. cit. p.164.

48. see J.W. Prugh's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation- The Theory and Practice of Discipline in the Scottish Reformation, Edinburgh University Library

49. Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. I, p.125.

evenings, was forbidden. James Roy, a piper in Elgin in 1592, suffered some humiliation for his disobedience:

James Roy, pyper, accusit for ganging through the toun playing on his gryite pyipe in the nycht seassaun without consent of licence of the toun and magistrats thair of and lykwayis for playing this last Sonday vpon his gryit pyip at eftirnone in tyme of preaching in contempt of God his worde and Kirk and thairfoir thair appoint him to stand in the hairclayth on Sonday nixt and mak his repentance publictlie and that he remane in the stepill till he find caution to do the same.⁵⁰

At Elgin, on 9 January 1600, twelve persons who were found passing their time in unauthorised singing in the 'Chanonrie Kirk' were required to make public repentance on Sunday and 'being reincident that sall be putt in the joiggis and thair heedis scheawin'. The Kirk acted on such matters without fear or favour. John Ross, master of the song school at St. Andrews in 1595, 'maist humlie, with all reverence on his knees befoir the sessioun, askit God mercy and the Kirk forgifnes for his negligens, and for using and playing of ane part of the comode and play in St. Leonardis College, tyme of the last baichelar act, by advys of the Kirk'.⁵¹

The singing of carols, whether in or out of Church, always gave cause for severe criticism. There was nothing more abhorrent to the puritan ethic than the legendary or apocryphal carol, or the carol which bore traces of superstition or of paganism. Such 'indelicate and gross

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50. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1886, p.26;
see also St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1890 - March 1590 and April 1591 (St. Andrews), May 1599 (Raderny), June 1600 (Leuchars).
51. St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, vol. II, p.813.

ballads' were not approved by the First Book of Discipline (1560). Even so, the old medieval habit of carol singing persisted. On 30 December 1574, a number of persons were charged and punished before an Aberdeen Assembly for 'plaing, dansin, and singing off fylthe carrolles on Yeull Day, at evin, and on Sondag, at evin, thairefter'.⁵² The Buik of the Universall Kirk, under March 1596, listed the 'singing of carrells at Yule' among the 'common corruptions of all Estates' within the realm. A record of the 'Chanonrie Kirk' at Elgin, 1599, warned:

All prophane pastyme inhibited to be unsitt
 be any persones other within the burgh or
 college and speciallie futballing through
 the toun, snaw balling, singing of carrellis
 or uther prophane sangis, guysing, pyping,
 violining and dansing and speciallie all
 this aboue specifeit forbidden in the Chanon-
 rie Kirk or Kirk yaird thairoff (except
 futball).⁵³

Well might Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington write:

Where is the blythness that has been
 Both in burgh and landwart seen?
 Among lordis and ladies schein brilliant
 Dancing, singing, game and play:
 But not I wit not what they mean -
 All merriness is worn away.

Episcopalian encouragement of Church Music

Not all Scotsmen, of course were favourably disposed to such a radical Calvinist reformation of music and worship. Presbyterianism was but one ecclesiastical

52. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, Spalding Club vol. 15, 1846, p.76.

53. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, p.76.

54. 'Papists and Protestants' in Maitland Club, 1830.

party within the Church of Scotland. Episcopalian influences were at times strong enough to affect Church polity, and views on Church music were tempered by the alternations of party government. The conflict for and against organs, choir music and liturgical embellishment is discernable both in ecclesiastical and civil courts. The period 1606-37 in particular, saw a consolidation of Episcopacy; the period 1638-45 saw a hardened Presbyterian rule.

James VI and I did much to aid the cause of Church music in Scotland.⁵⁵ It is true that James, under the tutelage of George Buchanan (who had been a Professor at Bordeaux) and Peter Young (who had studied under Beza in Geneva) at first acquired a fondness for Calvinist syllogisms and metrical psalmody. James, in his early years, paraphrased psalms 1 - 6 and 10 - 21 in English verse. But once free of his tutor's yoke, James began to have leanings toward Episcopacy, and at length strongly opposed Andrew Melville (the Presbyterian leader after Knox's death in 1578) and the Second Book of Discipline, 1578. In 1603 James became Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and by 1604 he was able to say:

I approve the calling and use of bishops in the Church and it is my aphorising 'No Bishop, No King' ... there should not be so general a departure from the Papists, that everything should be counted an error wherein we agree with them.⁵⁶

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55. Dr. Charles Burney in his General History of Music New York, 1957, Vol. II, p. 260, grossly miscalculated the King's interest in the art of music when he wrote that it did not appear that this Prince, either from nature or education, was enabled to receive any pleasure from music'.
56. W. Barlow, The summe and substance of the Hampton Court Conference ... London, 1604.

In 1610 the Scottish General Assembly fully endorsed the ecclesiastical status of Bishops. In the same year the Assembly chanted the 133 Psalm.⁵⁷

A revival in Church music at the Scottish Chapel Royal from 1617⁵⁸ corresponds with the definite emergence of the Episcopalian party within the Church of Scotland. This revival was to a certain extent a reaction against Genevan views which had been the primary power in the early Reformed Church. It was also due in part to the personal encouragement and 'high church' influence that William Laud (Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury) was able to exercise on the Scottish Bishops and Deans of the Scottish Chapel Royal.

The Scottish Episcopalians felt that there ought to be room in worship for something more elaborate than metrical psalm tunes. John Livingstone put it this way:

Alas! for that Capitall crime of the Lord's people - barrenness in praises. O, how fully am I perswaded, that a line of praises is worth a leaf of prayer, and an hour of praises worth a day of fasting and mourning! Yet there is room enough for both. But O! what a massive piece of glory on earth it is to have praises ...⁵⁹

Several early seventeenth century Scottish Bishops looked benignly on Church music, and gave positive encouragement to its performance. John Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, wrote in 1630:

Pleasant objects may bee set for sorrowful mind, which worke by diversion drawing the

57. D. Calderwood, History, vol. VII, p.99. It should be noted, however, that 'chanted' may have simply meant 'sung'.

58. Ch. IV, p.82 of this thesis.

59. quoted in Neil Livingston's edition of Scottish Psalter of 1635, Glasgow, 1864, p.65.

mind from grievous objects both internall
and externall and amongst the rest music
excelleth.⁶⁰

Bishop William Cowper (1568-1619), who perhaps may be regarded as the Scottish equivalent of the Anglican divine, Richard Hooker, wrote of music in gentle and eloquent terms, but warned, as the Calvinists had done, that Church music must come from the heart:

... let us delight in this exercise; since the Lord sounds upon His Harpe, Mercy, let us resound Him prayse. ... As the striking of a dead Instrument renders no delight to man; and the striking of one out of tune, whose strings are discordant among themselves, is unpleasant to him, so a dull and dead praising of God, not resounding from the soule; comming out of custome not out of conscience, from fashion, not from feeling or sense; such praises (I say) the Lord declared to be no more acceptable to Him then the striking of a stocke or stone, which renders no pleasant resounding unto man. What can the mouth praise, but him who made it? What can the eyes preferre to him that giveth light? What can the mind containe more than the parent of minds? What can be sweeter to them that live then the well of life?

Let every voyce and song, and Harpe therefore
Give praise to God for now and evermore.⁶¹

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60. J. Abernethy, A Christian and Heavenly Treatise - containing the Physicke for the Soule, 1630, p.196.
61. W. Cowper, Works, London, 1626, p.1090; cf. R. Hooker, Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie, London, c.1617, pp. 258-9.

THE PLACE OF MUSIC IN THE LITURGIES AND
SERVICE BOOKS OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH, 1564-1645

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word 'liturgy' as 'a form of public worship, esp. in the Christian Church; a collection of formularies for the conduct of Divine Service. Also, public worship conducted in accordance with a prescribed form. At Athens, a public office or duty which the richer citizens discharged at their own expense'. In classical Greece a 'liturgy' was a public service performed gratuitously; the word being derived from two Greek words ('leos' and 'ergos') meaning 'people' and 'work'. It was adopted by the Christian Church, and came to be used in the sense of referring to the work of the people of God, the homage that man owes to God, or more specifically, to the prescribed services of the Eucharist and the Canonical Hours, as contrasted with private devotion. The total act of Christian worship in the early Church was a combination of liturgies, where each individual performed his own task in shaping the great work of the worship of God. The celebrant's liturgy, for example, was primarily to say the prayer of consecration in the Eucharist; the singers' liturgy was to perform the music of the Mass and of the obligatory Choir Offices (Officium Divinum), which, through monastic usage, had become an accomplished fact by the fourth century. The liturgy in the early church was never something which one person did. It required active participation in some measure by the whole congregation. The responsibility of each person was well defined. There was a place for everyone, from door-keeper to deacon, from reader to

bishop.¹

The basic arrangement of the daily Choir Offices (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) was fixed in detail by St. Benedict (c. 480 - 550) who called it 'the work of God'. (Ergo nihil Operi Dei praeponatur.)²

With the passage of time, however, the medieval liturgies became exceedingly complicated through the addition of a multitude of extra Saints' days and ceremonies, each of which had its own special music provided. Contrary to the practice of the early Church, services of worship now became exclusive performances by the clergy and the professional choir. The common folk had to be content with hearing the service but generally taking no part in it. The preface to the Book of Common Prayer puts it this way:

There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in continuance of time hath not been corrupted; As, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service.

The opportunities for the performance of a vast body of monophonic plainsong - to say nothing of elaborate polyphony - were enormous; and the choirs of Scottish cathedrals, monastic foundations, and collegiate chapels were no less adventurous in this respect than their English or Continental counterparts.

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1. On the Liturgy of the early Church, see - Louis Bouyer, Life and Liturgy, London and New York 1962, p.243.
 2. The Rule of Saint Benedict, London and New York, 1886, p.129.

Of the various liturgical Uses, that of Salisbury (Sarum) came to be the best known and most widespread in Scotland. In fact several references to the Sarum Use are to be found in Scottish poetry, as in these anonymous sixteenth century lines:

..Farewell Stratherne, most comely for to know,
 Plenished with pleasant policy preclair
 Of towers and towns standing fair in row;
 I rugged thy ribs till oft I made them rair (roar);
 Gar (make) thy wives, if thou will do no more,
 Sing my dirige after usum Sarum,
 For oftimes I gart them alarum. 3

An inventory of 'bukis for the Quher' of St. Salvator's College Chapel, St. Andrews, dating from the late fifteenth century, shows that a large number of service books were in use there in pre-Reformation days. They included:

four gret antiphonaris notyt
 Item four greit gralis for the quer
 Item nyne mess bukis gret and smale
 Item ane collector with anthiphonis and responsis
 and yms breuit and notit for the chantouris
 Item ten processionaris for the ebdomidare and
 the quer
 Item ane gret prykkyt sang buk and tua smaller of
 prekyt senggyn and ij salter in the quer
 Item off sang bukis with v messis v bukis
 Item iiij bukis with iiij messis and antemnis. 4

It was the aim of the Knoxians to return to the practice of the early Church, as far as liturgical

3. C. Innes, Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress, Edinburgh, 1861, p. 364.
 For a discussion on the Sarum Use in Scotland, see C.G. McCrie's Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1892, pp. 33-35.

4. Inventory from the oldest college cartulary. R.G. Cant, The College of St. Salvator, Edinburgh and London, 1950, pp. 158-9.

knowledge then permitted.⁵ The cry of the sixteenth century Reformers for a more simple liturgy in which the whole congregation could actively participate, led eventually to the replacement of the many and varied service books by one book. In fact the first of the Reformed service books to come into use in Scotland was the Second English Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552). Not only was it in the English tongue and therefore able to be understood by the people, but it was also accessible. Liturgical scholars, such as Thomas McCrie, William McMillan and Gordon Donaldson,⁶ have shown that this 1552 Book of Common Prayer was used in Scottish 'privy kirks' of the Reformed faith before the official establishment of Protestantism by Act of Parliament in 1560, and that it continued to remain in use until replaced by the Book of Common Order in 1564-5. The Prayer Book rubrics allowed for a considerable amount of music to be performed in the services; but in this period of ecclesiastical unrest and civil strife, the services, where used in Scotland, would probably be read rather than sung. In any case, the Mass and Choir Offices were not banned until 1560, and by that time John Knox and other Scots had returned from Geneva armed with the principles of Calvinist worship.

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5. The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (Bishop of Rome, c. 210 A.D.) is the first extant text which gives a clear and detailed picture of worship in the early church, but this document was not discovered until 1916. See - Dom Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, London, 1946, p.235.
 6. T. McCrie, The Life of John Knox, Edinburgh, 1813, vol. I, p.423, Note D.D;
 W. McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, London, 1931, p.33;
 G. Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1537, Edinburgh, 1954, pp. 6-7;
Knox's Works, vol. I, p.275.

There must have been little music of the old church performed after 1560 - in public anyway. It is true that Mary Queen of Scots heard Mass several times after her return from France in 1561, yet we read that her musicians refused 'to play at Mass or even-song'.⁷

The Book of Common Order, 1564-5.

That the Book of Common Order was adopted in place of the 1552 Prayer Book was a blow as far as music and musicians were concerned. The Scottish Calvinists looked upon the Prayer Book with suspicion.⁸ It still reflected some of the features of the medieval church when worship was dominated by the priest and the professional choir; and when the congregation tended to regard the liturgy not as a corporate action, but as a background for their own private devotions. The reformation of the liturgy was still not thorough-going enough for the Scottish mind. Therefore, the First Book of Discipline, 1560, notes the Genevan 'forme of Prayers and Ministration of the sacraments... used in the English Congregation at Geneva: and approved by the famous and godly learned man John Calvin as 'oure book of Common Ordour'. Likewise the General Assembly in December 1562 'concludit that ane uniforme order salbe takin or keipit in the administratioun of the Sacraments... according to the Booke of Geneva'.⁹ In January next, the Stirling Town Council, except for the deacons, agreed to lend ten pounds to Robert Lakprevik, 'for prenting of new bukis concludit be the Kirk'.¹⁰

7. Calendare of State Papers - Scotland, vol.I, 1509-1589, London, 1858, p.186.

8. Strictly, there is another prayer book after 1552 which may have been in limited use in Scotland - namely, the Elizabethan one of 1559, - but this is basically the 1552 book, with few changes.

9. Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol.I, pp. 30 and 164.

10. Stirling Charters, Glasgow, 1884, p.211.

The necessity for a modified version of the 'Order of Geneva', more suited to Scottish needs, resulted in the first edition of the 'Book of Common Order', printed in Edinburgh in 1564-5 by Robert Lakprevik. It seems to have been prepared largely by John Knox and is therefore often referred to as John Knox's Liturgy. It remained the only authorised service book of the Church of Scotland until it was superseded by the Directory of Public Worship in 1645. There are three services in the Book of Common Order to take account of.

The Sunday morning service proved to be a much more simple affair than either the Mass of the old church or the service of Matins in the 1552 Prayer Book. Indeed it was plain and severe by comparison, entertaining no ceremony or elaboration of any kind. Its one chief distinguishing feature from the pre-Reformation liturgies was in the inclusion of a popular and congregational element in the form of metrical psalmody. The order of service was as follows:

Confession
 this done, the people sing a Psalme all together,
 in a playne tune
 Prayer for illumination
 Sermon
 Prayer for the whole state of Christes Church
 Lord's Prayer
 Creed - then the people singe a Psalme, which
 ended, the minister pronounceth one of these
 blessings, and so the congregation departeth.
 Blessing

The second form of worship was known as the Reader's Service, and was in daily use in many places, especially in the larger towns. It was no more than a shortened and modified form of the Sunday morning service, using prayer, the singing of psalms, and the reading of scripture. Some variety of form was encouraged in this service: each minister or reader could, for example, decide for himself

just how many psalms were to be sung.

In the third service, the Lord's Supper (which was to be celebrated 'once a monthe or as oft as the congregation thinke expedient'), there is but one rubric concerning music, and it occurs near the end of the service, between the prayer of thanksgiving and the blessing:

The action thus ended, the people sing the 103 psal. My Soule give laud etc. or some other of thanksgivynge.

Sir Archibald Johnston (Lord Wariston) gives evidence in his diary of this psalm being sung in Liberton Kirk (near Edinburgh) on 18 August 1633:

My saule haiving so doone and received the sacrament... then after this divine assurance, opening my Ps. book for to prayse God, by Gods special providence quhilk wonderfully rejoyced my heart they were singing 103 Ps. q.v.:—
He chydes not us continually,
though we be full of stryfe:
Nor keeps our faults in memorie
for al our sinful lyfe.¹¹

Musical customs which grew up around these three services from the Book of Common Order will be dealt with later.¹²

It should be noted that from 1560 until 1638 there were two ecclesiastical parties, Presbyterian and Episcopalian, within the established Church of Scotland. It was not until the Revolution of 1688 that Scottish Presbyterianism became firmly and finally established. The Episcopalians were of the opinion that an enrichment

11. Lord Wariston, Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, 1632-1639, ed. G.M. Paul, Edinburgh, 1911, p.123.

12. See ch. 8.

of the 1564-5 liturgy was needed, and tendencies towards this end can be discerned from as early as the 1580s when Episcopalians like Archbishop Adamson began urging for liturgical revision. Liturgical revision under episcopalian influence meant of course more ceremony and more music.

There are three extant drafts of Scottish liturgies of the reign of James VI and I which may well have been in limited use from after the meeting of the General Assembly in Aberdeen, 1616, until 1637, the year when the progress of liturgical revision came to a sudden halt.¹³ The first two drafts still rely heavily on the forms of worship found in the Book of Common Order; the third draft relies a good deal on material from the English Book of Common Prayer of 1604. It is certain that the 1604 English book was used in Scotland, for in May 1617, during the visit of King James to Edinburgh:

The English Service was begun in the Chappell Royall Holyrood, with singing of quiristours, surplices, and playing on organs.¹⁴

In the same year:

the noblemen, counsellours, and bishops, so manie as were in Edinburgh, were commandit to repair to the Palace of Holyrudhous, upon Whytsonday the 8th of June, where the communion was to be celebrate after the Englishe form.¹⁵

By 1623 the English Prayer Book was in use in St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews. David Calderwood, the contemporary historian, writes that:

Upon the 15th Januar, Mr. Robert Howie Principall of the New Colledge of St. Andross, Doctor Wedderburn, and Doctour Melvine, were directed by a letter from Doctour Young in the King's name to use the Englishe Liturgie

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13. The first and third drafts are printed in G. Sprott's Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI, Edinburgh, 1871. The second draft is printed in Miscellany I, Scottish Historical Society, series 4, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 42-117.
14. D. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1842, vol. VII, p. 246.
15. ibid. vol. VII, pp. 246-7.

morning and evening in the New Colledge, where all the students were present at morning and evening prayers; which was presentlie putt in execution.¹⁶

The first English Book of Common Prayer to be printed in Scotland would seem to have been that produced in Edinburgh in 1633 'by the Printers of the King's most excellent Majestie' of whom Robert Young was one. The whole business of liturgical enrichment culminated in the Scottish Book of Common Prayer printed in its final form in 1637 (also by Robert Young). The Bishop of Ross was said to have used it 'peaceably within the chantry Kirk of Ross each Sabbath day by the space of two years,'¹⁷ that is, from 1635 at least. It was used also at Dunblane and Brechin.¹⁸

The Scottish Book of Common Prayer, 1637.¹⁹

This masterpiece among liturgies was largely the work of John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and James Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane. It had the backing of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of King Charles I himself, yet it proved unacceptable to the people. It disregarded the Book of Common Order; its use was ordered without the complete ecclesiastical authority of the Scottish clergy; and it was used against the wishes of the majority of the laity who believed that it contained popish error - the

16. ibid. vol. VII, p. 569.

17. J. Spalding, History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1828, vol. I, p. 53.

18. R. Baillie, Letters, Edinburgh, 1841, vol. I, p. 16-17.

19. The best modern edition of the 1637 liturgy is that printed in G. Donaldson's the Making of the Scottish Prayer Book.

'Popish - English - Scottish - Mass - Service Book'²⁰ they called it. It was silenced by popular tumult as soon as the attempt was made to introduce it throughout the Kingdom of Scotland, and the riot that took place in the High Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh, on that fateful day - the seventh Sunday after Trinity, 23 July 1637 - is well known.²¹

20. J. Row and W. Row, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1842, p.500.

21. An interesting account of the riot is given by Dr. John Cosin of Durham in a letter to his friend Mr. Joseph Mede, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge:

Durham 4 August 1637

... News here is none but of their 'Stone Sunday' (as they call it) from Scotland: Where, the new Service Book in the Cathedral Church at Edinburgh, they had like to have slaine their bishop with 'stones', and pulled him all to pieces for bringing in among them (as they said) the 'new English Masse'. The tumult and uproar was made by 2000 of the baser sort of people, but set on, as it is thought, by others. The complaint is gone up to the King, and in the mean while many are in hold. This in Edinburgh Cathedrall. For, in the King's Chapel there, and in four other dioceses besides, the liturgie is accepted with all alacritie, and performed with as much diligence as any where among us. I commend my love heartily to you, and rest, your assured friend,

Jo Cosin.

Printed in Correspondence of John Cosin, Surtees Society, Durham, London and Edinburgh, 1869, vol. LII, pp.220-1. For another account see A. Wright, The Presbyterian Church, its worship, functions, and ministerial orders, Edinburgh and London, 1895, pp. 82-5.

Here is a table showing the place of music in the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Scottish Book of Common Prayer, 1637. Rubrics are almost identical with those of the contemporary English Liturgy, although it should be noted that in the order of Morning Prayer the Scottish book substitutes the 23rd Psalm for the canticle 'Benedicite omnia opera'.

Matins*

Evensong

Scripture sentences,
Confession, Absolution,
Lord's Prayer /said
or sung/.
Then likewise he /I.e.
the Presbyter/ shall say
or sing,
O Lord open thou our lips..
The Lord's Name be praised.

Invitatory Psalm.
Then shall be said
or sung this Psalm
following,
O come let us sing
... [Ps.95]

Psalms of the day /said
or sung/.
First Lesson. And (to the
end that the people may
the better hear) in such
places where they do sing,
there shall the Lessons be
sung in a plain tune, after
the manner of distinct
reading: and likewise the
Epistle and Gospel.
Canticle

After the first
Lesson, shall be
said or sung Te
Deum Laudamus, in
English, daily
throughout the
whole year.
We praise thee,
O God...

...the Magnif-
icat in English,
as followeth.
My soul doth
magnify...
/Luke I,
v. 46-55/.
Or else this

* Rubrics in the first column apply to Matins. Information in the middle column refers to both Morning and Evening Prayer. Rubrics in the third column apply to Evensong. Except for interpolations in square brackets, the text is from the original.

Or this Psalm.
The Lord is my
shepherd.../Ps. 23/

Psalm.
O sing unto the
Lord.../Ps. 98/

Second Lesson
/said or sung/.

Canticle

After the second
Lesson shall be
used and said
(or sung) Bene-
dictus Dominus
Deus Israel, in
English, as
followeth.
Blessed be the
Lord God...
/Luke I, v.68-79/.
Or this C. Psalm.
Make a joyful noise
... /Ps. 100/

... Nunc dimittis
in English, as
followeth.
Lord now lettest...
/Luke II, v.29-32/
Or else this Psalm.
God be merciful...
/Ps. 67/

Creed, Lesser
Litany, Lord's
Prayer, Preces and
Responses, Collects.
(said or sung).

/The Litany followed/
on certain days.

To this can be added the two rubrics dealing specifically
with music in the service of the Eucharist:

1. The Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be
said or sung this Creed, all still reverently
standing up. I believe in one God...
/Nicene Creed/.
2. Then shall be said or sung, Gloria in excelsis,
in English as followeth. Glory be to God on
high...

There is, strangely enough, no direction given
for the singing of an anthem. The rubric 'in quires

and places where they sing here followeth the anthem', does not come in until the 1662 English Book of Common Prayer, but it rests on one of the Injunctions issued in 1559 under Queen Elizabeth I, permitting a hymn at the end of the common prayers.²² We know that in actual practice anthems were sung in the Scottish Chapel Royal.²³

The failure of the Scottish Prayer Book meant another turning-point in the history of Scottish reformed worship. By an Act of the General Assembly on 6 December 1638, the Service Book together with the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination and all other episcopal paraphernalia were condemned as being not only 'illegally introduced, but also repugnant to the doctrine, discipline, and order of this reformed Kirk.'²⁴ On 8 December, Episcopacy was

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22. Injunction 49: ... 'And that there be a modest distinct songe, so vsed in all partes of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as playnely vnderstanded, as yf it were read without syngyng, and yet neverthelesse for the comfortyng of such that delygth in musicke, it may be permitted that in the begynnyng, or in the ende of common prayers, eyther at morning or evenyng, there may be song an Hymne, or such like songe, to the prayse of almightie god, in the best sort of melodie and musicke that may be conueniently deuised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymne may be vnderstanded and perceyued.'

Printed in Robert Steele's, The Earliest English Music Printing, London, 1903, p.11.

23. ch. IV, p.92.

24. Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, Church Law Society, Edinburgh, 1843, p.9.

declared 'to be abjured and removed out of the Kirk', and in the same year the Scottish Bishops were excommunicated.

Thus Presbyterianism triumphed once again, and the Book of Common Order became the norm once more (not that it had ever ceased to be used in the parish churches), until it was replaced by the Directory of Public Worship of 1645. For music, the Directory meant a return to metrical psalms and spiritual songs.

Directory of Public Worship, 1645.

An Assembly of Divines met at Westminster in July 1643 for the purpose of establishing standards of doctrine and church government based upon Presbyterian lines. Meetings continued there until 22 February 1649. The Scottish Commissioners present at this Assembly were: clergymen Robert Baillie of Glasgow, George Gillespie of Edinburgh, Alexander Henderson of Edinburgh, Samuel Rutherford of St. Andrews; and laymen Sir Archibald Johnson of Wariston, and John, Lord Maitland (afterwards Earl of Lauderdale). Deliberations resulted in the publication of several formularies, each of which contained a lucid and rigid embodiment of Calvinist theology and church government. The formularies were: 'A Directory for the Public Worship of God' (1645); 'The Confession of Faith' (October - November 1646); and the catechisms (1647).

By an Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which met in Edinburgh on 3 February 1645,²⁵ the Directory was approved and established as the official form of public worship, superseding the Book of Common Order which had been the recognized service book since 1564.

25. Records, Acts and Proceedings of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. I, 1638-1654, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 418.

The title page of the 1646 edition of the Directory reads:

A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England Scotland and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer; and for the establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.

General directions are given for the order of public worship, and for the manner in which the sacraments and other religious rites are to be administered, but in both instances all the details are left to the discretion of the officiating minister. Thus, music, in the form of metrical psalms, may be sung 'if with conveniency it may be done'. Here is the order of worship:

Call to worship

Prayer

Public reading of Holy Scripture

Singing of the Psalm

Prayer

Sermon

Prayer

Lord's Prayer

Psalm /the rubric here reads: 'The prayer ended, let a Psalm be sung, if with conveniency it may be done' /

Solemn Blessing. (On certain days a celebration of Holy Communion followed the psalm.)

Throughout the Directory references to music are confined to the mention of psalms. Within the instruction given 'concerning the observation of Dayes of Publique Thanksgiving', we read:

And because singing of Psalms is of all other the proper Ordinance for expressing of Joy and Thanksgiving, let some pertinent Psalmes or Psalmes be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading of some portion of the Word, suitable to the present businesse.

However, it is obvious from the contents of the Directory as a whole, that the emphasis in public worship is now on the preaching of the Word - the sermon. Music would be limited to the singing of two or three metrical psalms. The Directory gives some short directions concerning the singing of them:

It is the duty of all Christians to praise God publicquely by singing of Psalms together in the Congregation, and also privately in the family. In singing of Psalms, the voice is to be tunable and gravely ordered: But the chief care must be to sing with understanding, and with Grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord. That the whole congregation may joyne herein, everyone that can read is to have a Psalm-book, and all others not dissabled by age or otherwise, are exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot reade, it is convenient that the Minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the other Ruling Officers, do reade the Psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

'Edifying simplicity and plainnesse of God's service',²⁶ were what mattered most.

Here, then, is a summary of the place of music in the three important Scottish service books, 1564 - 1645.

Book of Common Order, 1564-5:

Sunday morning service	- two metrical psalms;
Reader's service	- metrical psalms
Lord's supper	- metrical psalm 103 or an alternative song of thanksgiving.

26. G. Gillespie, A dispute against the English Popish ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1637.

Scottish Book of Common Prayer, 1637:

Matins and Evensong

- preces and responses;
prose psalms;
Te Deum, or Ps. 23,
Magnificat, or Ps. 98,
Benedictus Dominus
Deus, or Ps. 100,
Nunc Dimittis, or Ps. 67,
Creed; preces and responses
... (Anthem)

Holy Communion
Litany

- Creed; Gloria in excelsis

Directory of Public Worship, 1645

Sunday morning
service

- two metrical psalms
(or more)

IV

THE CHAPEL ROYAL

The Chapel Royal during the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots
1560-7

The Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle included sixteen choirmen and six choirboys in 1501,¹ but in company with other choral foundations, it faded out at the Reformation. Mary, Queen of Scots, on her return from France, used Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh as the principal Royal residence, and she endeavoured to support musical services there. James V had built a chapel within the palace of Holyroodhouse, distinct from the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and it was this smaller chapel that Mary used.² In 1560 the Abbey Church became the Parish Church of the Canongate.

The endowments of the Stirling Chapel Royal and its song school were not transferred to Holyrood. Nevertheless, Mary, while at Holyrood, employed a small number of court musicians, both instrumentalists and 'sangsters', including some foreigners.³ The Lord High Treasurer's accounts include payments to string players of the court thus:

January 1561/2.

Item, to Johnne Feldie and his barnis, violaris, for thair service at this last zule ...xx^{li}

January 1562/3.

Item, be the Quenis grace precept, to Johnie Dow, Moreis Dow, Johnie Raa, William Hog, Johnie Feldie, Johnie Fyn, Alexander Feddie, and Patrick Cochrame, wiolars, for their service done at Zule and Pasche [Christmas and Easter],

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1. C. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal, p. XXXI.
 2. R.S. Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, Edinburgh, 1958, p.17.
 3. see ch. II, p.33.

ilk ane of thame be the said space V li ;
 summa, as the said precept, togidder witht their
 acquittance schawin upoun compt, beris xl^{li} 4
 ... xl^{li} 4

Little is known of the chapel singers,⁵ but they would seem to have been a body distinct from the Stirling musicians. According to the Dictionary of National Biography,⁶ Mary supported only a quartet of singers in her private chapel. One of these musicians was the Italian bass singer David Riccio who also acted as the Queen's 'valet de chambre'.⁷

The Stirling Royal Chapel was used only occasionally after the court moved to Holyrood, but it was not wholly abandoned. There were two important occasions (in 1566 and in 1594) when the boys and singing-men of the Chapel sang special music at Stirling. Both were at services of Royal baptisms. Presumably the choir would have been brought in specially from Holyrood.

James VI, born at Edinburgh Castle, was baptised on 17 December 1566 'in the Castell of Sterling on the Catholique maner, be Johne Archebischop of Sanctandrois'.⁸ It is recorded that the 'solemnities endit by near five hours afternoon, with singing and playing on organs',⁹ but there is no record of the music sung. The infant James was crowned at Stirling on 29 July 1567. The Earl of Moray

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4. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vol. XI, 1559-66, Edinburgh, 1916, pp. 102, 242. There would seem to be no evidence, however, to show that these instrumentalists actually played in the Royal Chapel itself.
 5. Some information is given in ch. II, p. 33, ('Sung Mass at Court 1560-7').
 6. under 'David Riccio'.
 7. ibid.;
Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., London, 1954, vol. VII, p. 187.
 8. The Historie and Life of King James the sext, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1825, p. 5.
 9. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents in Scotland 1513-75, Maitland Club, 1833.

was appointed Regent. Thereafter the old chapel seems to have fallen into decay.¹⁰

Meanwhile the Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse came in for its share of trouble. It was despoiled in 1567. Archbishop Spottiswoode wrote:

Some two days after the Queen was committed to Lough-Leven, the Earle of Glencairne, with his domesticks, demolished the altare of Holyroodhouse, breaking the pictures and defacing the ornaments within the same.¹¹

1567-1590s

During the Regencies (1567-78) and indeed until about 1594, the Chapel Royal choral music apparently ceased altogether. Secular court music was kept alive under James Lauder (chief court musician from 1562),¹² and then by English violars employed from 1567. These were the Hudson brothers. Their names - Thomas, Robert, James and William, reappear in 'the Estait of the King's Hous' for 1584 and 1590.¹³ An Act of Parliament of 1587 assured 'honest intertenement of his hienes four musicianis',¹⁴ Another Act of 29 July 1587 - a 'Ratification to thomas hudsoun musiciane' - referred to Thomas Hudson as 'maister of his hienes chappell royall' and

10. ch. VIII, p.176.

11. J. Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1851.

12. H.M. Shire, 'Musical Servitors', p.18.

13. Dictionary of National Biography under 'Thomas Hudson'.

14. Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. III, cap. 12, p.439.

arranged that proper payments be made for his services,¹⁵ but there is no evidence that a choir functioned at this time.

On 17 May 1590 Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI, was crowned in the renovated Abbey Church at Holyrood. The 'solemnite' was said to have lasted seven hours and to have included three sermons (in Latin, French and English) together with an oration delivered by Robert Bruce and another by John Craig. The 'trumpet and drummes sounded a long tyme, and the cannons of the castle thundered',¹⁶ but there is no record of other music having been performed.

On 30 August 1594 James' eldest son, Prince Henry, was baptised at Stirling.¹⁷ The event witnessed a good deal of music-making:

... because the chappell royall was ruinous, and too little, /It was/ concluded that the old chappell should be utterly rased, and a new erected in the same place, that should be more large, long and glorious, to entertain the great number of straungers expected. And when all the ambassadours were convenen together, and all necessary materials readie, the chappell royall of the castle of Striulling was richly hung with costly tapestries. ... /After a sermon and the homily on baptism/ the prouest and prebends of the chappel royall did sing the 21 psalme of David, according to the art of musique, to the great delectation of the noble auditory. ... During the banquet in the great hall - playing on harpe, musick in green holyne /?/ bowboyes in five /?/ parts. After that followed

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15. Hudson was appointed master on 5 June 1586; Appendix III, p.212; General Register House, Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. II, f.151.
 16. J. Spottiswoode, op. cit. vol. II, p.407-8.
 17. J. McQuaid confuses the Chapels Royal when he refers to Henry's baptism as being at Holyrood. Musicians of the Scottish Reformation.

viols with voices in plaine counterpoint to the nature of the hexameter verses:

Vndique conueniant, quot Reges nomine Christi
Gaudent, hucque suas maturent cogere vires ...

After which ensued a stil noise of recorders and fluts; and for the fourth, a general aonsort of best instruments.

And when in this time all the banquet was done, after thanks being given, there was sung with most delicate dulce voices, and sweet harmonie in 7 partes, the 128 psalm, with 14 voyces.¹⁸

Attempts to revive the Chapel Royal, 1590s - 1617

James IV (reigned 1488 - 1513), following the example of other rulers of his time, had allotted the Chapel Royal musicians prebendary kirks for their livings. Since the Reformation, however, the rents and revenues of these benefices had often been redirected from their original intention to support ministers, readers, parish schools and the poor.¹⁹ This meant that the choral foundations became entirely neglected.

By 1586 James VI was twenty years of age and he was obviously beginning to take a keen interest in the state of his Chapel Royal. Acts of Parliament in 1587,²⁰ 1592,²¹ 1594²² and 1606²³ were aimed at redirecting rents and

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1. 'A True Accompt of the Baptism of Prince Henry Frederick' in Scotia Rediviva, vol. I, Edinburgh, 1826, pp. 473-95;
Another account of the baptism is given by D. Calderwood in his History, vol. V, pp. 344-5.
 19. Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. I, p.17.
 20. Appendix III, p. 212.
 21. ibid. p. 213.
 22. Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. IV, p. 75.
 23. Appendix III, p. 214.

revenues of both church livings and temporal lands back to the Chapel Royal. By the Act of Parliament of 5 June 1592 'concerning the Kingis chappell royall of striuiling and his hienes Musicianis',²⁴ the King and the three estates of Parliament required the Collector-General to pay Thomas Hudson (master of music of the Chapel) the annual sum of two hundred pounds together with certain other chapel rents that could be conveniently recovered. The 'Act Annent the chapell Royall and exceptionis thairfra ...' of 11 July 1606, reiterated the sorry plight of the choral foundation and stated that there was not a sufficient number of musically qualified persons capable of service in the Chapel. It was felt that this state of affairs would eventually breed degradation to the honour of the realm; that Scotland would be the only Christian Kingdom not providing 'ordinar Musick for recreation and honor of thair princis'; and that the Chapel music, as a 'haly exercise agreable to the religioun', ought to be encouraged. Parliament therefore approved the foundation and institution of the Chapel Royal provided that it was not repugnant to the Reformed religion 'professit and be the law establissit' within the realm. All revenues of lands, Kirks, tithes and rents properly belonging to the Chapel and its members were to be recovered.²⁵

For Scotland, this was a time of great economic difficulty. Since 1501 the total revenues of the Chapel Royal had decreased by nearly half and the cost of living had increased four hundred per cent.²⁶ It is understandable that

24. ibid. p.213.

25. ibid. p.214

26. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 33.3.12. (Denmilne MS. xv, no. 41.); C. Rogers, Chapel Royal, p. cxxxiii.

even in the face of Acts of Parliament no positive steps were taken to re-establish sung services in the Chapel. Besides, with the union of the crowns in 1603, the political and cultural focus had moved to London. No doubt the King was impressed with the English Chapel Royal. Perhaps this gave him added incentive to organize the Scottish Chapel Royal for his Edinburgh visit in 1617.

For this visit preliminary efforts were made in 1616 to restore the Chapel music at Holyrood. In January, William Birnie, Bishop of Galloway and Dean of the Chapel Royal, wrote to the King:

... I have intended action against all such as presentlie possesses the rents of the Chappell, and shall doe what in me lyes to recover them; not for any benefit to me, being hartlie content to quyt all the rent theirof that your Hienes Chappell may be provyded of musitians, and the Churches belonging therevnto of pastors. ... And so soone as livings may be provyded for Musitians, it shal be my great contentment to be their praesident, in sending vp to God, everie day, prayers and praises for your Maiestie and your Royall children ...²⁷

On 4 April William Birnie received a commission from the King to restore the Chapel to its former credit and distinction, and to rectify and amend any abuses regarding persons who 'as we are certanelie informed, are altogidder unable and unqualifeit for dischairgeing of ony poynte of dewtie prescryvit be the airt and science of musik.' ²⁸

Much was done for the King's visit. In October (1616) many craftsmen set to work to repair the King's houses,

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27. Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, vol. II 1614-25, Edinburgh, 1851m p.466.
28. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. X, 1613-16, Edinburgh, 1891, p.493.

especially the Abbey of Holyroodhouse and the Chapel Royal. About the middle of the month, the organ which was to be installed in the Chapel was brought by sea from London to Leith.²⁹ The restoration of the Chapel was not without its anxious moments. Many citizens of Edinburgh grew discontented when they learned of the plans for refurnishing the Chapel, for the fear of Popery was never absent from their minds. John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, tells the story in some detail:

Among other directions sent from the King, one was for repairing of the chapel, and some English carpenters were employed, who brought with them the portraits of the apostles to be set in the pews or stalls. As they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumour went, that images were to be set up in the chapel; and, as people are given to speak the worst, it was current among them, that the organs came first, now the images, and ere long they should have the mass. The bishop of Galloway, then dean of the chapel, moved with these speeches, did pen a letter to the king, entreating his majesty 'for the offence that was taken to stay the affixing of these portraits'. To this letter he procured the subscriptions of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, and divers of the ministers of Edinburgh.

The answer of the king was full of anger, objecting ignorance unto them that could not distinguish betwixt pictures intended for ornament and decoration, and images erected for worship and adoration; and resembling them to the constable of Castile, who being sent to swear the peace concluded with Spain, when he understood the business was to be performed in the chapel where some anthems were to be sung, desired 'that whatsoever was sung, God's name might not be used in it, and that being forborne, he was content they should sing what they listed; 'just so', said the king, 'you can endure lions, dragons, and devils to be figured in your churches, but will not allow the like place to the patriarchs and apostles'. His majesty always gave order for some other form,

29. D. Calderwood, History, vol. VII, p.242.

and staying the erecting of these portraits; which in the same letter he said 'was not done for ease of their hearts, or confirming them in their error, but because the work could not be done so quickly in that kind as was first appointed'. This letter was of the date at Whitehall, the 13th of March, 1617.³⁰

James was determined to establish the Anglican rites and ceremonies in Scotland, and was so set on his personal journey to his native land, that he called them 'traitors' who opposed it.³¹ Although he knew full well that the majority of Scots disliked Anglicanism, he arrived in Edinburgh (1617) with Bishops Lancelot Andrews of Ely, James Montague of Winchester and Richard Neile of Durham, together with a vast retinue of household servants, yeomen, clerks and members of the English Chapel Royal choir. An English satirist noted the Scots' reaction in these words:

I am persuaded that yf God & his angells should come downe in their whitest garments they would run away and cry, 'The Children of the Chappell are come againe to torment us; let us fly from the abomination of these boys, & hide ourselves in the mountaynes. ³²

The Royal Visit to Edinburgh, May 1617

During the King's stay in Edinburgh, the English Chapel Royal choir sang daily services in Holyrood Chapel - quherin was a glorious altar sett vp, with two closed Bybles, two vnlighted candles, and two basins without water sett thereon, organs put vp, and his Majesties Quiristers appoynted to sing and say the English Service daylie; Quhervnto

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- 30. J. Spottiswoode, op. cit. vol. III, pp. 238-9.
 - 31. Calendar of State Papers - Domestic (English) 1611-18, London, 1858, p.422.
 - 32. Quoted in Philip Brett's edition of Orlando Gibbons' 'Do not repine, fair sun', Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1961. I have been unable to locate the original source or the writer's identity.

many, for noveltie, came to sie and hear quhat such things could be; but, seeing nothing but prophanitie and abusing the service of God, came not againe.³³

Orlando Gibbons composed two works in honour of the Royal visit. Do not repine, fair sun is a song of welcome for the king. It is a rather long work set for alto, tenor and bass soli, SAATB chorus and viols.³⁴ The verse anthem Great King of Gods is set for three solo voices, first and second alto and bass, and SAATB chorus and instruments.³⁵ A note on page 230 of the manuscript says - 'This anthem was made for the King's being in Scotland'. The original words of the anthem were:

Great King of Gods, whose gracious hand hath led
our sacred sovrein head
Unto the place where first our bliss was bred.
And send thine angels to his blessed side,
And bid them there abide,
To be at once his guardian and his guide.
Dear be his life, all glorious be his days,
And prospering all his ways
Late add thy last crown to his peace and praise.
And when he hath outlived the worlds long date,
Let thy last change translate
His living flesh to thy celestial state.

The State of the Chapel Royal 1617-1625

On the return of the King and his Chapel to London,

33. J. Row and W. Row, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland.
vol. 1, p.113.
It is possible, although there seems to be no absolute proof, that the Scottish choir sang with the English choir.
34. New York Public Library, Drexel MSS. 4180-5;
This composition has been transcribed and edited by Philip Brett, and published by Stainer and Bell Ltd. in 1961 (S and B. 5491).
35. Christ Church Oxford MS.21; published in Tudor Church Music, vol. IV, pp. 197-202;
An alternative set of words, written by the Rev. H.R. Bramley in 1873, beginning Great Lord of Lords, is used in editions by
(1) E.H. Fellowes, Stainer and Bell Church Choir series, 1925, no. 290, and
(2) D. Wulstan, Orlando Gibbons - Verse Anthems, Stainer and Bell, 1962, no. 7, p.76.
The instrumentation is not specified in the original MS.

the Scottish musicians took up their duties in Holyrood chapel. A special choral service of which record exists was the baptism of John Murray's son. Murray was groom of the King's Bedchamber. This took place on the afternoon of 19 August 1617. William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway and Dean of the Chapel, preached. 'There was playing of organes and singing of men and boys, both before and after sermone.'³⁶ The Dean himself wrote of the service:

... the organes and musitians, four on everie part, men and boyes, agreit in pleasant harmonie, to the contentment of all becaus they vnderstood what wes sung.³⁷

Again, on Christmas day 1617, 'Mr. William Couper, Bishop of Galloway, preached as Deane of the Chappel Royall, where the organes were played upon'.³⁸

But the rents of the Chapel were barely sufficient to sustain the Prebendaries, and even the Dean had no suitable lodging. He was offered four rooms 'wherein a man may not possible turn a halbert. They can not contein', he said, 'the half of my familie, and some of them wanting chimneyes, can not be for studentis. Neither key of Chappell nor organe loft is committed to me ... Sen everie Minister of the countrey hes a manse at his kirk, I think your Maiestie's will shalbe, that your Hienes Deane haue one also --- otherway hard to me to wait vpon dailie service there.'³⁹

36. D. Calderwood, History, vol. VII, p.277.

37. Bishop of Galloway to King James, 15 September 1617, Original Letters vol. II, pp. 509-10.

38. D. Calderwood, History, vol. VII, p.288.

39. Bishop of Galloway to King James, 15 September 1617, Original Letters, *ibid.*

An important document⁴⁰ titled Information anent his Ma^{sties} chapell Royall in Scotland gives details of the state of the Chapel Royal about 1620. It shows that the principal sources of revenue for the chapel musicians had depreciated drastically in value since the 1501 foundation. It was estimated that in that year the chapel income from annual rents was two thousand pounds and in 1620 it was only one thousand two hundred pounds, most of which was paid to non-resident members. Not only had payments fallen into neglect but they had in some instances been channeled elsewhere. In three cases, children (two of them nephews of the Late Bishop Cowper of Galloway) were nominal holders of benefices, even though they were too young to serve in the Chapel. John Gib, the King's servant, was receiver of the rents of Dalmellinton, but he was not a musician, nor did he attend to Chapel services. The following tables gives an idea of the state of the Chapel Royal around 1620:

Title	Holder of Office	Attendance at Chapel	Revenues in 1501 *	Revenues in 1620 *
Dean	Andrew Lamb (?) Bishop of Galloway	irregular	500 merks	?
Subdean	Andrew Cowper titular	?	280 merks	40 merks

40. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS.33.3.12 (Denmilne MS.XV, no. 41.) This is written in a hand of the first half of the 17th century. It contains the statement - 'Andro cowper brother to the late B. of galloway is titular'. William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, died in 1619, so that the document cannot be earlier than that. Appendix III, pp. 216-18.

* The value of a Scottish merk was approximately 13½d. whereas the one in use in England was worth 13s.4d. Although the merks paid in 1501 were certainly Scottish, those paid in 1620 might have been either Scottish or English.

Title	Holder of Office	Attendance at Chapel	Revenues in 1501	Revenues in 1620
Sacriston	Andrew Cowper titular	?	280 merks	40 merks
Chanter	William Scott	non-resident	£100	100 merks
Treasurer	Thomas Gray	non-resident	£100	100 merks
Master of the bairns	James Castellaw	'attendis daily'	£100	100 merks
Chancellor	-	-	?	150 merks, of which 100 was given to the organist.
Person of Kellis	Thomas Cowper (child)	no attendance	?	£100
Person of Balmakellan	Patrick Dunbar	'attendis and is skilfull'	?	50 merks
Person of Glenwhom	vacant	-	?	50 merks
Person 'Air Primo'	Andrew Cowper titular	?	?	£100
Person of Alloway	James Cowper (child)	no attendance	?	80 merks
Person of Dalmellinton	John Gib	no attendance	?	80 merks
Person of Dalrumpill	Andrew Sinclair	'attendis and is skilfull'	?	50 merks
Person of Culton	James Castlelaw	see above	??	£40
	Bernard Lyndsay	no attendance	??	£40
Person of Creif	Thomas Gray (Henry Mow) (child)	non-resident no attendance	?	£40
			?	£40
4 Prebendaries in Straban	Stephen Tilliedaff	?	?	£80

Title	Holder of Office	Attendance at Chapel	Revenues in 1501	Revenues in 1620
1 Prebendary in Straban	Patrik Dunbar	see above	?	£80
1 Prebendary in Castellaw	James Castelaw	see above	?	35 merks
1 Prebendary in Castellaw	William Duncanson	no attendance	?	35 merks
2 Prebendaries in Castellaw	James Keith	'attendis and is skilful'	?	70 merks

Information anent ... stated that the rents from Raploch, Kintyre and Lochaber had not been forthcoming for many years; nor had the revenues from the priories of Restenot and Coldingham, the prebendary kirks of Spot, Belton, Duns, Pinkarton, Kinkair, Pettie, Brachly, Duthell, Ellam and Crenschewis.

Few members of the Chapel, apart from the boys, attended regularly in 1620. These members seem to have been:

James Castelaw (jnr.), the Master of the bairns⁴¹
 Patrick Dunbar, gentleman
 Andrew Sinclair, gentleman⁴²
 James Keith, gentleman

The document stated that if the situation could not be remedied soon, a new foundation ought to be made.

41. James Castelaw snr. in August 1618 'being unmeet, through age, for the service of the Chappel - dismissed his benefice ... in favours of his sonne, who is a qualefeit musitian'. - Bishop of Galloway to John Murray of Lochmaben, 10 August 1618, Original Letters, vol. II, p.571.

42. Sinclair was an organist; see ch. V. p.114.

King James received a letter dated 17 May 1623, written on behalf of the prebendaries of the Chapel Royal by Adam Bellenden, then Dean. Bellenden wrote that the 'estait of the Chapell ... hes resault suche ruine sen the Reformation', and that ways and means for improving the situation were under consideration. Mr. James Law was given the task of 'searching out' those 'levingis that remainis vnrectit'.⁴³

Not three months later, sixteen Gentlemen of the Chapel petitioned the King to take heed of their financial difficulties. The signatories to this petition were:-

Ro. Wynram
Mr. James Law
J. Laurie
Robert Ros
A. Hay
Rot. Weir
An Cowper
Sr. James Keith
S. Tullideff
J. Castellaw
Mr. Ja Weland
Humphray Watson
Ad. B. of Dunblane Deane of Chap. Royall.
Walter Troupe
Patrick Dunbar
Johne Watsone⁴⁴

Of these sixteen person, ten were new from the previous list, and eleven names have disappeared.

James VI and I died on 27 March 1625. Despite the King's personal interest in the affairs of his Scottish Chapel Royal, a lack of money prevented any enduring choral foundation from being established.

43. Original Letters, vol. II, p.715.

44. Ibid. p.721 (5 August 1623).

The Chapel under Charles I - The first years of his reign.

Charles I, right from the outset of his reign, endeavoured to build up an efficient Chapel Royal choir. His general view can be gathered from a book of orders which he signed soon after his accession:

Our express pleasure is that our Chappell be all the year kept through both morning and evening with solemn musicke like a collegiate church: unless it be at such times in the summer or other times when We are pleased to spare it. The Orders shall stand in force not onely at our Chappell at Whitehall but where-soeuer We come to service or sermon in Chappell.⁴⁵

Charles was determined to have a good choir in his Scottish Chapel. On 3 March 1627 he wrote to Dean Ballenden:

... We are informed that ther be some of the Musitians of our Chapell royall who for the insuffiencie in that facultie ar not fitt to be meanteaned in ther charge: Therfor our pleaur is, that you call vnto yow such assistants as are most fitt and skilfull for tryeing heirof, and haveing caused examyne the saidis persones whom yow shall think to be insufficient and haveing fund them to be so, that they be removed from the saidis places, putting in ther rowmes such able persones as can be had for this purpois ...⁴⁶

The Treasury showed reluctance in paying the Chapel Royal musicians. In a letter to the treasurer, 23 May 1628, the King wrote:

... Wheras we are informed that a competent number of our Exchequer have subscryved for the payment of Thrie thousand markis to the musicianes of our Chapple Royall thare, according to ane warrand formerlie direct for that effect, and that noe payment is made thareof

45. H.C. de Lafontaine (ed.), The King's Musick, London, 1909, p.60.

46. The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royall Letters 1615-35, Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1885, p.136.

unto them though the last Witsondayis terme was assigned for that purpose: Bieng willing according to the intentione of our late royall father, that the said chappell should be serued and the musitians interteined thereof, in some ressonable maner till the funationes thareof should be settled soe that the benefitt arising thareby may be duellie taken wp for the vse of the said chapple - Oure pleassoure is, that the said three thousand merkis which should have been payed for the said witsonday last bypast, with 3000 merkis for this witsonday ensueing be payed vnto them with all possible diligence, and that out of the first and rediest of our rentis and casualties whatsoeuer of that Kingdome, and that 3000 merkis be yearlie payed vnto them at the said term of whitsonday til the said fundationes be settled ...⁴⁷

There is no doubt that Charles had his forthcoming Scottish coronation in mind. This is particularly evident in Royal correspondence from 1630 to 1633. He informed the Scottish Exchequer in a letter of 8 February 1630 that the Scottish Chapel Royal was to be served with Scots-born musicians 'as are continoualie or placed of new by the Deane of that Chappell, and by Edward Kellie, our servand ... lest our said service at our comming thither be ether neglected or they not fitt to be in such a place and charge'.⁴⁸

Kellie had been receiver of the Chapel rents on behalf of the Gentlemen since 17 March 1628, and seems to have been Master of the Choristers in succession to James Castelaw.⁴⁹

There is a document, Information touching the Chappell-Royall of Scotland,⁵⁰ written by Kellie at Whitehall on

47. ibid. p.275.

48. ibid. p.421.

49. C. Rogers, Chapel Royal.

50. Printed in W. Dauney's Ancient Scottish Melodies, Edinburgh and London, 1838, pp. 365-7. The whereabouts of the original document seem to be unknown.

24 January 1631/2 and addressed 'To the King's most excellent Majestie'. It gives valuable insight into the workings of the Chapel. Kellie provided the Chapel with a music library of psalms, services and anthems. He spent five months in London copying these (probably from music books belonging to the English Chapel Royal) in 'twelve great books, gilded, and twelve small ones, with an organe-book'. He provided for the Scottish Chapel Royal the 'same musick' as was used at Charles I's English coronation (1625) and three large Bibles, one each for the King, Dean and Reader.

According to Kellie, the choristers performed their duties with admirable competence. He wrote:

I carried home /From England/ an organist and two men for playing on cornets and sackbuts, and two boyes for singing division in the versus, all which are most exquisite in their severall facultiez. I caused the said organist examine all the aforesaid musick-books and organ-books; and finding them right, convened all musicians of your Majestie's said chappell, some whereof (being after triall found insufficient for such service) I deposed, and choosed some others in their roomes, whereby I made up the number of sixteen men beside the organist and six boyes who all of them sung there psalmes, services and anthymes, sufficiently, at first sight, to the organe, versus, and chorus, soe being confident of their abilities to discharge to service, I desired the lordes of your Majestie's honourable councell, and others of authoritie, skillfull in that facultie, to heare them; which lords, after their hearing, in token of their approbation, gave me a testificate under their hands, witnessing that I had fully performed my former undertakings, and showing that the like service was never done there before by any soe well, or in soe good order.⁵¹

Daily choir practices for the boys were held in a room in the palace of Holyroodhouse. The gentlemen met there

51. *ibid.*

twice a week to practise and to receive directions for the coming services. The room housed an organ, two flutes, two pandores, viols and other instruments, and a collection of French, Dutch, Spanish, Latin, Italian and old Scottish music - both vocal and instrumental. Kellie continues:

In tyme of service within the chappell, the organist and all the singingmen are in black gownes, the boyes are in sadd coloured coats, and the vsher and the sexten and vestrie-keeper are in browne gownes. The singing men doe sit in seats, lately made, before the noblemen, and the boyes before them /I.e. in choir stalls, in a decani and cantoris arrangement/ with their books lay'd, as in your Majestie's chappell here /I.e. at Whitehall/. One of the great Bibles is placed in the middle of the chappell /on the lectern/, for the reader, the other before the Deane. There is sung before sermon ane full anthymne, and after sermon ane anthymne alone in versus with the organe. And thus every one attendeth the charge in his place in a very grave and decent forme.⁵²

Kellie stated that both choir and instrumentalists had prepared the music and were ready for the King's Scottish coronation. He mentioned that Scottish musicians would perform the coronation service 'with greater credite to your Majestie's native Kingdom, then it can be done by stragearis', and that it would be a 'great and need-less charge' to have the English Chapel Royal travel to Edinburgh for the occasion. King Charles was pleased with the progress that had been made at Holyrood and acknowledged that the coronation music had been prepared by the Scottish choir.⁵³

52. ibid.

53. Charles to the Advocate, Greenwich, 9 June 1631, The Earl of Stirling's Register, p.535; Charles to the Exchequer, Greenwich, 9 June 1631, ibid.; Charles to the Exchequer, Whitehall, 2 February 1632, ibid. p.572.

Things looked promising for the Chapel Royal choir, but they did not remain so for long. It looks as though payments had not been made, for William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had received a petition from Dean Bellenden concerning the 'poor singing men'. Laud discussed the matter with the King.⁵⁴ Curiously enough, Kellie left Scotland not long before the coronation. The Register of the Privy Council⁵⁵ shows that on 13 June 1633 Kellie, at his 'departing out of the Kingdome' left Bibles and music books belonging to the Chapel in the custody and keeping of John Melvill, his brother-in-law. Melvill gave them to John Hart, master of the Grammar school in the Canongate, who in turn delivered them to the Dean of the Chapel. Maybe Kellie was displeased that Charles had decided to send the English Chapel Royal choir to sing at the coronation.

The Scottish visit of the English Chapel Royal choir and the Scottish Coronation of Charles I, 1633.

On 27 March 1633 eight royal trumpeters were provided with liveries 'that they may go decently and handsomely apparelled'.⁵⁶ In due course the gentlemen of the English Chapel petitioned the King for four hundred pounds and a ship to transport them, the children of the Chapel, the officers of the vestry, their copes, surplices and other goods. Three hundred and fifty three pounds were granted, and a ship - the 'Dreadnought' (one of the ships appointed

54. Laud to Bellenden, Lambeth, 14 January 1633, The Works of William Laud, vol. VI, pt. II, Oxford, 1857, p.341.

55. vol. V, 1633-35, 2nd series, Edinburgh, 1904, pp.114, 115.

56. H.C. De Lafontaine, op. cit. p.83.

to guard the narrow seas - was provided. The ship set sail from Tilbury Hope and arrived at Leith.⁵⁷

Members of the Chapel choir appointed to wait on the King in his Scottish journey were:⁵⁸

8 children of the Chapel /no names given/

Gentlemen of the Chapel:

Basses -

Thomas Piers, senior

Ezechell Waade

Robert Nightengale

Thomas Rayment

John Frost, junior

Ralph Amner /d.1664; lay clerk successively at Ely and Windsor before becoming a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He may have been a brother or cousin of John Amner, Magister Choristarum at Ely Cathedral, 1610-41.⁵⁹/

Tenors -

George Cook /choirman at the funeral of James I, 1625.⁶⁰/

John Clarke /child of the Chapel at the funeral of James I.⁶¹/

John Frost, senior /chantor at Westminster at the funeral of James I.⁶²/

Walter Porter /b.1595, d.1659; He had been a chorister at Westminster Abbey and a pupil of Monteverdi⁶³/

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57. Appendix III, p.220.
'Particulars of the allowances made for the journey of the choir to Scotland on the King's progress thither in 1633' - Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. D 318, ff 42 verso to 41 verso; Calendar of State Papers - Domestic (English) - of the Reign of Charles I 1633-34, pp. 18, 33, 38, 47, 68, 153.
58. H.C. de Lafontaine, op. cit. pp. 84, 85.
59. A.J. Greening, 'Amner Reconsidered' in The Musical Times, November, 1969, no. 1521, vol.110, pp. 1131-3.
60. P. Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660, London, 1967, p.74.
61. ibid. p.73.
62. ibid.
63. ibid. p.341.

Countertenors -

Thomas Day /Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey at the funeral of James I.⁶⁴
 Thomas Pierse /a singingman at Westminster Abbey in 1625.⁶⁵
 Henry Lawes /b. 1596, d. 1662; He joined the Chapel Royal in 1625.⁶⁶
 Richard Sandy /a singingman at the Abbey in 1625; elected a gentleman of the Chapel in 1627.⁶⁷
 Thomas Laughton
 Nathaniel Pownell

Organists -

John Tomkins /b. 1586, d. 1638; half-brother of Thomas Tomkins; 1606 - organist at King's College, Cambridge; 1619 - organist at St. Paul's Cathedral, London; 1625 on - connected with the Chapel Royal.⁶⁸
 Giles Tomkins /b. ? d. 1668; half-brother of Thomas; 1624 - organist at King's College, Cambridge; 1629 - Master of the Choristers at Salisbury Cathedral; 1630 - Court musician.⁶⁹

The coronation took place at the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse (Canongate Kirk) on 18 June 1633. An excellent account of the ceremony survives in a contemporary manuscript called 'The Memorable and Soleme Coronations of King Charles Crouned King of Scotland at Holyrudhousse ... in the Abey Church neir adiacent to the Kinges palace of Holyrudhousse'.⁷⁰ Here are those parts of the account that

64. ibid. p.73.

65. ibid. p.73.

66. ibid. p.344.

67. ibid. p.74.

68. D. Stevens, Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656, London and New York, 1957.

69. ibid.

70. National History of Scotland, Balfour papers, Adv. MS. 33. 2. 26, cap. 10.

refer to the music of the coronation service:

... At ye entring of ye Grate West Church dore
wes hes Matie mett by the Archbischope of St.
Andrewes with ythers prelatz accompanied with
Musitians of his Maties Chapell Royall in way
of processione ...

Then the King arrysing marched forward
alonges ye church the queire receuing him
with this Antheme Behold O Lord our protector
and looke vpon the face of thyne Anoynted
becaus one day in they Courte is better then a
thousand (quam dilecta) etc., touardes the
stage quher he did a little repose him
selue ...

Then wes sung by the Queir ye Antheme
Firmetur manus tua. Let thy hand be streng-
thened.

Psal. 80 /77 Miserecordies dei; Glorie
be to ye father. Quhill ye Antheme wes sing-
ing the Archbischope went doune to ye Communion
table, and ther rested him.

After yeothe he returned to his Chaire
of Estat, and then wes sung the Hyme, Veni
Creator Spiritus ...

The prayer endit the Letanie is sung and
read by the Bischopes of Murray and Rosse ...

During this tyme /of the Anointing/ the
Queire sanng the Antheme, Zadocke the Preist,
and Nathan the Propheir anoynted Salomon King
and all ye people reioyced and said God saue
the King for euer ...

This thus performed /I.e. the crowning and
the obligatory oath/ then was the Anthem sung
by the Queire, Be stronge and of Good Courage,
and obserue the commandments of the Lord to
walke in his wayes ...

After the blessing the King ascendit the
stage attendit by diuers the pryme officers
and nobilitie the Queir singing te Deum laud-
amus ...

The King with ye Croune on his head, in
his Robes, and Scepter in his hand, returned
with his quole traine in soleme maner (as he
entered) to his palace, the trumpetts sounding,
wer anssuered by the Castell of Edinbrughe with
ye thundring of grate ordinance.

There is no certainty that the music for the English
coronation of Charles I (1625) was repeated at this Scottish
ceremony. It is known that Thomas Tomkins composed

'many songs' for the English event.⁷¹ - 'Zadock the priest',⁷² and 'Be strong and of good courage',⁷³ for example. These may have been re-used. The Scottish Chapel Royal choir may have joined forces with the English choir, but none of the accounts make this point clear. The hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus' was most likely sung in the English metrical version, as this was the case at the English coronation:⁷⁴

Come Holy Ghost, eternall God,
proceeding from above,
Both from the Father and the Sonne
the God of peace and love,
Visitt our mindes, and into us the
heavenly grace inspire,
That in all Truth and Godliness
we may have true desire.
Thou art the very Comforter
in all woe and distresse,
The heavenly giiftes of God most high
which no tong~~ue~~ can expresse,
The fountain and the lyvely Spring
of joy celestiallyl,
The fire so bright, the love so cleare
and unction spirituall.

The pomp and splendour of the occasion did not go by unnoticed by the Roman Catholics. Father John Leslie in a letter to his Superior, 30 September 1633, said:

The altar was laid out with great costliness and splendour, there was an introit with collects, oblation of bread and wine, and a

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71. Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal 1561-1744, Camden Society, 1872, vol. IV, p.58; Lambeth Palace MS. no. 1076 - 'The Rites and Cerimonyes to be observed at the Coronation of King Charles 1626'.
72. British Museum, Harley MS. 6346.
73. T. Tomkins, Musica Deo Sacra.
74. Old Cheque Book, pp. 15749.

form of consecration; on the altar were books, candles, crucifix, images of the Apostles, etc., music both of chant and organ, and many other things about which our Puritan friends repeat some lines of a Scottish poet:-

Cur, duo, sed clausi, libri stant Regis in ara?

Lumina coeca duo, pocula sicca duo?
An lumen cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clasum,
Lumine coeca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano ut ritu regalem sterneret aram,
Purpuream finxit relligiosa lupam.⁷⁵

The Chapel Royal, 1633-37

On 8 October 1633, some two months after the court had returned to London, King Charles decreed that the services of morning and evening prayer would be sung at Holyrood Chapel daily, 'as well in our absense as otherwise'. The English liturgy was authorised for use until such time as a Scottish prayer book could be compiled.⁷⁶ Archbishop Laud began to encourage 'high church' habits within the Scottish Chapel Royal,⁷⁷ and this of course aroused much opposition from many Scotsmen.

The singing-men were still being paid at irregular intervals. James Lawrie, Reader of the Kirk of Holyrood-house, and recently a singing-man of the Chapel, was very poorly off. He had contracted some debts, having attended on the King at his coronation, and had received no money from the Treasurer with which to pay his accounts. His

75. W. Forbes Leith (ed.), Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, London, 1909, vol. I, p. 164.

76. G. Rogers, op. cit. p. clxxvi.

77. For example, Laud praised Dean Bellenden for waering his 'whites' (i.e. his surplice). W. Laud, op. cit. p. 409.

creditors were impatient and threatened him with legal proceedings and loss of the Readership.⁷⁸ Kellie may have embezzled chapel rents, for Laud wrote to Bellenden:

I have spoken with my Lord Traquair, and he tells me (if I mistook him not) that payment was made to Kelly with relation to the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and that your own hand, as well as others, is to some agreement that was made thereabout. The paper was not then about him, else he had showed it me. Your Lordship, therefore, shall do very well to speak with him again about this particular.⁷⁹

Charles must have hear of this, for within a week of Laud's letter to Bellenden, the King wrote to the Exchequer directing immediate payments to be made to the musicians for their maintenance.⁸⁰ The gentlemen of the Chapel, being in debt, were forced to absent themselves from services for fear of arrests. Morning Prayer and Evensong were therefore not sung for a time. Laud wrote to Bellenden:

.... his Majesty thinks you might have got a Chaplain on your own to have read the English Liturgy, that so the work for the main part of it might have gone on. And for the payment of those men, I think your Lordship knows, I have done all the good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all the difficulties of the time.⁸¹

On 13 November 1634, the singing-men sent a petition to the Privy Council desiring protection. This time the gentlemen were in debt over procuring 'comely attire' for use in the Chapel, and were threatened with imprisonment.

78. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. V, 1633-35 p. 601, (20 Feb. 1634).

79. ibid.

80. The Earl of Stirling's Register, p.715. (18 Jan. 1634).

81. W. Laud, op. cit. p.383 (Lambeth, 1 July 1634).

The Lords of the Council granted them protection until April 1635. The petition included the signatures of thirteen Gentlemen of the Chapel:

Walter Troup⁸²
 John Watsoun
 Robert Colquhoun
 John Casttelaw
 Francis Marche
 Robert Ros
 Martine Thomesone
 George Fergusoun
 Stevin Tullidaff⁸³
 Mr. Edward Millar
 Eleazer McKiesoun
 James Creightoun⁸⁴
 Umphra Watsoun⁸⁵

Edward Millar replaced Edward Kellie as Master of the Choristers in 1634 and succeeded him as receiver of the rents.⁸⁶ Millar had studied at the University of Edinburgh and graduated M.A. in 1624. He probably lived in 'Blackfriars wynd' and taught music⁸⁷ until he joined the Chapel Royal on 15 February 1634:

... His Mailestie being credible informed of the qualificationne and abilitie of Mr. Edward Millar, musitiane, indweller in Edinburgh, to undergoe the functionne and charge of ane

82. see ch. VI, p.129 of this thesis.

83. ibid.

84. ibid.

85. The petition is printed in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland vol. V, 1633-35 p.408.

86. General Register House, Edinburgh, Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. VI, f.45.

87. N. Livingston (ed.), Scottish Psalter of 1635, Glasgow, 1864, p.48.

prebendar within his Hienes Chappell Royall of Stirling, and of the said Mr. Edward his experience and skill in the airt of Musick ... /Millar is/ presented to the personage and vicarage of the Kirk and Parish of St Mary Kirk of the Lowis land in Atrick forrest ... now vacant by depravation of Edward Kellie, last prebendar thereof.⁸⁸

Millar's edition of the Scottish Psalter of 1636 was a highlight in the music of the Reformed Church of Scotland.⁸⁹

Archbishop Laud and the Scottish Bishops pressed on with their plans for a Scottish prayer book to replace the English one.⁹⁰ The majority of Scots were so bitterly opposed to the scheme, and the attempt to force the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book⁹¹ on the Church of Scotland resulted not only in utter failure, but also in hastening the end of the Chapel Royal choral foundation. Choral services came to an end and Bishops were excommunicated. Revenues belonging to the Chapel Royal were eventually diverted elsewhere. An Act of Parliament of 13 July 1649 directed that rents formerly paid to James Crichton (singing-man of the Chapel now deceased) out of the parish and prebendary of Glencrose, be given towards the minister's stipend for 'mantinance of the pure worschip of god within the said parosch'.⁹²

Mobs plundered the Chapel at various times after 1637, but it was the riot of 10 December 1688 that spelt

88. Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. VII, f.24.

89. see ch. VII, p. 156.

90. Laud to James Wedderburne, Lambeth, 10 April 1636 - W. Laud, op. cit. p. 457.

91. ch. III, p. 65.

92. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. VI, p.t.II, p. 482.

the death of the Chapel building itself:

... they /the mcb/ fell presently to rifle the chapel and schools, and brought the timber work, and library /including music books?/ with everything that came in their way, to the cross /close/ and burnt them.⁹³

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93. R. Wodrow, History of the ... Church of Scotland, Glasgow, 1830, vol. IV, pp. 473-4.

Appendix to Chapter IV

Deans of the Chapel Royal of Scotland⁹⁴

Patrick Galloway (1551?-1626?) : Dean of the Chapel Royal from 18 March 1590 until 1612; attended James VI and I at Hampton Court in 1604; appointed minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, June 1607.

William Birnie (1563-1619) : Dean from 20 September 1612 until 1615; had been a student at St. Leonard's College St. Andrews, graduated M.A. in 1588; minister of Lanark 1597; held the charges of Ayr primo and secundo in 1612; a 'doggerel epitaph' runs:

He waited on his charge with care and pains
At Air on little hopes, and smaller gains.

William Cowper (1588-1619) : Dean from 2 June (?) 1615 until 1619; studied at St. Andrews and graduated M.A. in 1583; worked in England; appointed minister at Bothkennar, August 1587; minister at Perth, October 1595; Bishop of Galloway, 31 July 1612.

Andrew Lamb (1561?-1634) : Dean from 1619 until 1621; minister at Burntisland (1593), Arbroath (1596) and South Leith (1600); 1601 - appointed a Royal Chaplain; 1607 - titular Bishop of Brechin; 1619 - translated to the see of Galloway.

94. This information is taken mainly from the Dictionary of National Biography.

Adam Bellenden (d.1639?) : Dean from 1621 until 1635, studied at Edinburgh University and graduated M.A. on 1 August 1590; 1593 - minister at Falkirk; 1616 - Bishop of Dunblane; 1635 - translated to the see of Aberdeen, but deprived of his see in 1638.

James Wedderburn (1585-1639) : Dean from October 1635 until 11 February 1636; studied at St. Andrews; 1617 - Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews; closely associated with William Laud in work on the Scottish Prayer Book; 11 February 1636 - consecrated Bishop of Dunblane.

Alexander Henderson (c.1583-1646) : Dean from 1641 until 1646.

ORGANS

Protests against the use of the organ in church were not peculiar to the Reformed Church of Scotland. The Eastern Church, Geneva, the Roman Catholic Council of Trent (1545-63), the Papal Chapel, Luther and a certain puritanical party of the Church of England all held the same basic attitude that organ music caused a distraction in worship unreconcilable with the ideals of true devotion and simplicity.¹

Scottish attitudes can conveniently be discussed in chronological order.

There was no word of prohibition against organs in the formularies of the early Scottish Reformed Church. Yet little positive encouragement was given (except in Royal circles) to the maintenance of church organs. The Scots Confession (1560) and the First Book of Discipline (1560) had nothing to say on the matter. While there are a few contemporary references in account books to the mending and upkeep of church organs in the early Reformation period, there are no references to the building of new ones. Nor was there any consistent policy towards the use of organs, although failure of organ music is flourish was a characteristic of the period.

It appears that no new organs were installed in Scotland from the time of the Reformation until 1617 - a space of over fifty years. There are records, however, to show that some maintenance was carried out on Chapel Royal

1. This subject is discussed in some detail in The Puritans and Music by P. Scholes, London, 1934, p. 336; see also ch. II, p. 48 for the Calvinist view.

instruments. The organ which had been bought for the Chapel at Holyroodhouse in February 1557/8² was repaired for the home-coming of Mary, Queen of Scots. In February 1561/2, William Macdowell, Master of Work at Holyrood Palace and Edinburgh Castle, was paid ten pounds 'for ane pair of organis quhilkis was recouerit and keipit be him'.³ Macdowell received almost £2000 for expenses from 16 June 1561 to 22 February 1561/2 for all manner of repair and refurnishing of Holyroodhouse and the Castle before the Queen's arrival.⁴ It is reasonable to assume that the organ sounded in Holyrood Chapel, particularly on the joyous feast days of the Church calendar, right up until the time of Queen Mary's forced abdication in 1567. At Easter, 1561, the organ was 'wonte to be the common musycke' at High Mass.⁵

The organ at the Chapel Royal of Stirling Castle was played on the occasion of the baptism of James VI - 17 December 1566. The 'solemnities endit by near five hours afternoon with singing and playing on organs'.⁶ From now on it would seem to be largely Royal patronage that kept the organs sounding.

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2. 'Item to David Malville, induellar in Leith, for an pair of organis to the chapel in the palice of the abbay of Halierude house - xxxvj li' - Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vol. X, 1551-59, ed. J.B. Paul, Edinburgh, 1913, p.330.
 3. ibid, vol. XI, 1559-66, Edinburgh, 1916, p.109.
 4. ibid, p.111.
 5. Calendar of Scottish Papers 1547-1603, vol. II, p.148.
 6. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents in Scotland 1513-1575, Maitland Club, 1833.

c.1567 - early Seventeenth Century

This was a very bleak period for organs in the Kirk. There was still not clear definition of Scottish Reformed Church policy on instrumental music in worship, although by now puritanical opinion, coloured by Genevan views, had had time to harden. A section of the Reforming party of the Church of England Convocation, 1562, proposed to abolish organs, but the vote was defeated by a narrow majority.⁷ Preaching and popular opinion were heavily weighted against organs. The readers of Scottish churches were instructed to read to their congregations from the second Book of Homilies, published in 1563.⁸ In the homily on 'The time and place of prayer' a woman says to her neighbour:

Alas gossip, what shall we do now at Church, since all the Saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs that we could before?

But dealy beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God thanks, that our Churches are delivered of all those things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his holy house.

An anonymous early seventeenth-century Elizabethan manuscript, The Praise of Musick,⁹ gives a clue as to what happened to organs that were no longer needed:

... then divers preachers set to persuade the people from the reverent use of service in songe ... that the estimation of singing being diminished in the myndes almost of all

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7. J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, 1709, pp. 298-9.
 8. G. Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, p.22.
 9. Royal MS. 18. B. XIX, British Museum, sect. I. f.5.

Men ... it would be very easie in tyme to take away all the livinges that way employed ... And if it is to be remembered that about the same tyme not so few as an 100 paire of Organs were pulled downe (and many of them sold and imploide to make pewter dishes) in such places where Musick was used.

Such was the climate of opinion that prevailed. From the time of the abdication of Mary, Queen of Scots, Scotland entered upon an era of neglect and destruction of church organs.

In 1571 the organ and ornaments of the Stirling Chapel Royal were swept away by the Earl of Mar, keeper of the Castle, acting under an Act of Parliament of August of that year. The Act required:

that the said chappell suld be purgit of all monoments of ydolatrie or vtheris thingis quhatsumeuir dedicat to superstition.¹⁰

Three years later the Privy Council decided on the fate of the organ at St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen. The Council concluded that:

the organis with all expedition be removed out of the Kirk, and maid proffite of to the use and support of the puyr, and that the preystis stallis and bakkis of alteris be removit.¹¹

The job of removing the organ from the Kirk was given to John Black the organist. He was paid thirty shillings for taking out the 'pypis of the organis and for ane caise to thame in', and seven shillings and six pence for 'takin downe the caise of the organis'.¹² The choir stalls and

10. Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. III, 1567-92, p.63.

11. Privy Council of Scotland, vol. II, 1569-78, ed. J.H. Burton, Edinburgh, 1878.

12. Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, p.285.

the backs of the altars were replaced in such parts of the Kirk 'as men may be best eased by them in hearing sermons'.¹³

There was no demand for the services of church organists. Consequently the organ is conspicuous by its absence in the lists of instruments taught at the Song Schools. George Douglas, on his appointment to the position of Master of the Song School at Elgin, 14 September, 1597, had:

committit to his charge in art and science of musick teching, and lerning of the said youth to play vpon all musicall instrumentis, speciallie virginallis, monicordis, luit, seister.¹⁴

Music-making on instruments such as these continued to flourish, but the organ - the one instrument associated with Popery - was virtually disbanded.

It would seem that organs continued to be used only on rare ceremonial occasions of Royal splendour, and then in a context as much secular as religious.

On the arrival from Denmark of James VI's Queen Anne - 19 May 1590 - nine maidens representing the nine muses 'sung verie sweete musicke where a brave youth played on the organs!'. This 'accorded excellentlie with the singing of their psalms'.¹⁵ Included in John Burrel's

13. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Sessions, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1846, p.16.

14. The Records of Elgin, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1908, p.398.

15. Papers relative to the Marriage of King James I, Bannatyne Club, 1828, pp. 39-40.

contemporary description of the Queen's entry into Edinburgh are these lines:

Organs and Regals thair did carpe,
With thair gay goldin glittring strings,
Thair was the Hautbois and the Harpe,
Playing maist sweit and pleasant springs,
And sum on lutis did play and sing
Of instruments the onely King.¹⁶

An Organ 'Renaissance' under Episcopalian and Royal Patronage

James VI came to the English throne in 1603 as James I. He had been given no real authority in Scotland, but had found himself alternately in the power of rival factions. Once settled in England he favoured Episcopacy and was influential in encouraging the development of church music in England and in Scotland too.¹⁷ With the accession of Charles I this policy became greatly accelerated, and it was edged on further by Archbishop Laud's 'high-church' movement. Therefore under the Episcopalian regime in Scotland (that is from about 1615-37) there was a more favourable church policy towards organs, some security for organists, and a revival in organ building.

An enormous amount of preparation preceded the King's visit to Scotland in 1617. The Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse was completely refurnished.¹⁸ The anonymous author of the Historie and Life of King James the sext says:

Expres command was directit from Court to repair all commoun and straightways with calsayis of stane work. The Kingis palise was reformat, with all expedition of massouns

16. 'The Description of the Queenis Maiesties most honourable entry into the town of Edinburgh', included in Sir Robert Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, 1807.

17. ch. IV, p. 78.

18. J. Spottiswoode, History, vol. III, pp. 238-9.

and wryet work. His chappel-royal was decorit with organs, and other temporall policie.¹⁹

The new organ was installed by none other than the famous English organ builder, Thomas Dallam of London. The Royal warrant to pay Dallam the sum of three hundred pounds for a large double organ to be set up in the Chapel Royal has been preserved. It is dated 4 July 1616:

James etc. To the Treasurer and under-treasurer of our Exchequer for the tyme being Greeting; Whereas by our Commandment and upon our Speciall direccion in that behalf given, our trustie and wel-beloved Chaplaines the Reverend Fathers in God James - Bishop of Bath and Wells Deane of our Chapple and Richard Bishop of Lincolne clurcke of our closet have - bargained and agreed with Thomas Dallam of London organ maker for the making of a faire large and verie serviceable double organ to be set up in our Chapple Royall at Edinburgh in Scotland, The charge whereof will amount to the somme of three hundred poundes of lawfull English money according to the effect of certaine Articles indented concluded and agreed upon in that behalf betweene the said Reverend fathers on the one part and the said Thomas Dallam on the other part; These are therefore to will and require you out of our treasurie remayning in our Exchequer to paie or cause to be paid to the said Thomas Dallam the said somme of three hundred poundes - without Accompt Intrest or other charge to be set upon him for the same or anie yt thereof; And this etc. Given etc.²⁰

Another Royal warrant for the payment of an additional fifty pounds was made on 19 July 1617:

... Whereas Wee /King James/ are informed by the said Bishops of Winchester and

19. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1825, p.395.

20. Public Record Office, London, S.P. 39/6 No.17.

Lincoln that the said Dallam hath borne at great charges over and above his bargain both in the transportacon of stuffe and other necessities by sea from London to Edinburgh as for his charges during his abode in Scotland a good time after his worke was finished for which Wee thinke it reason hee should be considered. Our will and pleasure is that you the Treasurer of the Exchequer pay ... Thomas Dallam ... the somme of ffiftye poundis of good and lawfull money of England ...²¹

Unfortunately no specification of the organ seems to exist, but since it was described as a 'faire large and verie serviceable double organ' it may well have been similar in construction to Dallam's organ at Worcester Cathedral. The Worcester instrument was a typical and moderate-sized cathedral organ, built in 1613-14, only a year or two before the Edinburgh one. Nathaniel Tomkins gave its specification in a letter he wrote to a Mr. Sayer.²²

Great

2 Diapasons (metal)	$\frac{1}{8}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
2 Principals (metal)	$\frac{7}{4}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Recorder (stopped metal)	$\frac{7}{4}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Twelfth (metal)	$\frac{7}{2}$ - $\frac{2}{3}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
2 Fifteenths (metal)	$\frac{7}{2}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$

Chair [Choir]

1 Stopped diapason (wood)	$\frac{1}{8}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Principal (metal)	$\frac{7}{4}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Flute (wood)	$\frac{7}{4}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Fifteenth (metal)	$\frac{7}{2}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$
1 Twenty-second (metal)	$\frac{7}{1}$ ft. $\frac{7}{8}$

It is plain that Dallam did not have the easiest of times during his sojourn in Scotland, for at one stage he declared that he would have been better treated among the Turks.²³ However, Goerge Gerrard in correspondence with one Carleton, 4 June 1617, wrote that the organ was

21. Public Record Office, London, S.P. 39/8 No.43.

22. British Museum, Bodley MS. Add. C. 304a, f.141.

23. Calendar of State Papers - Domestic (English) 1611-18, London, 1858, p.424.

was 'much applauded' in Scotland.²⁴ The English architect Inigo Jones designed the case-work for the organ, and had charge of the Chapel pictures and furniture.²⁵ All things were ready when the King arrived in Edinburgh, and on Saturday 17 May 1617, the English Prayer-Book service was sung in the Chapel Royal with 'playing on organes'.²⁶

There is specific reference to the use of the organ at the baptism of John Murray's child on 19 August 1617;²⁷ it was used, too, on Christmas day of that year.²⁸

It was not long, though, before the Bishop of Galloway as Dean of the Chapel Royal, wrote to the King:

... The organes hes bene too commonlie visited, the organist shew me that the spakes that raises the bellows had bene somewhat vnskilfullie used by ignorant people. I shew it to my Lord Chancellor Alexander Seaton, Earl of Dunfermline, who hes commanded to keep them more cairfullie, yet the myce and dust of the house will do them evill if conveninet coverings be not provyded for them in tyme ... Cannongait, September 15, 1617.²⁹

The organist of the Chapel Royal at this time (whose name is not stated) was paid one hundred marks per year

24. ibid. p.471.

25. ibid. p.412.

26. D. Calderwood's History, vol. VII, p.246.

27. ibid. p.277. (John Murray was groom of the King's bed-chamber.)

28. ibid. p.288.

29. Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, vol. II 1614-1625, Edinburgh, 1851, pp. 509-10.

from the rent of the Kirk of Southweik.³⁰ At least one other choirman of the Chapel, Andrew Sinclair by name, was an organist. It is not clear whether Sinclair was in fact the official organist at the Chapel Royal. He was said to be a 'skilful' musician,³¹ and was paid one hundred merks for acting as organist at celebrations connected with Charles I's Edinburgh visit in 1633.³² Charles wrote two years earlier that he had been 'credibly informed' that the Scottish Chapel was 'furnished with an expert organist'.³³

Lack of sufficient financial support soon hampered the upkeep of the organ and the organist. James Hannay (as Minister of the Canongate Kirk) 'interteined at his own charge the service of the organ',³⁴ after the Scottish Coronation of Charles I in 1633.

It was arranged in February 1636 that Hannay as Dean of St. Giles Cathedral would go to Durham to inspect the cathedral organ there, so that he might superintend the installation of an instrument in St. Giles.³⁵ Unfortunately

30. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv. MS. 33.3.12. (Denmilne MS. XV, no. 41.)

31. ibid.

32. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, Edinburgh, 1936, p.129.

33. Charles to the Exchequer, Greenwich, 9 June 1631. Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters 1615-35, Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1885, p.535.

34. Charles to the Treasurers, Hampton Court, 20 October 1634. Earl of Stirling's Register ... p.802.

35. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, p.174.

There was a new organ built at Durham Cathedral by Robert Dallam in 1627 (Notice in the South Choir Aisle, Durham Cathedral).

nothing seems to have come of this plan.³⁶

Apart from the Chapel Royal there were a few organs in the castles of the nobility. An inventory (1640) of goods belonging to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy included 'ane pair of little organes in the Chapel of Finlary'.³⁷ The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Colinsburgh, had a private chapel by about 1635, but there is no record of its music. Of course, the early and strict adherents to the Reformation cause would not be likely to possess chapels or organs. The Duke of Argyll, for example, had no chapel or organ at Inverary Castle in 1614 (the date of the first inventory).

Two historically important organs, both still in working condition, remain extant. These are chamber organs which were used in domestic (rather than in religious) music-making. In 1602 E. Hoffheimer, a Netherlander, built a regal organ for John Graham, Earl of Montrose. This instrument has the distinction of being one of the oldest organs in Britain still in playing order. It is now housed in the Carisbrooke Castle Museum, Isle of Wight. The specification is as follows:

Stopt diapason	4 ft. 7
Flute	2 ft. 7
Regal (b ... c 111 25 notes)	8 ft. 7
Tremulant	

The Montrose coat of arms is carved on the top of the instrument, and on the cornice are three shields.

36. There is no mention of Dean Hannay's visit in the Treasurer's Book (1635-6) of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, no. 15; or in the Acts (1619-38) of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, Bk. 2; or in Durham City Records in the Cathedral Library.

37. C. Innes, Sketches of Early Scotch History ... p. 511.

inscribed: 'LOOF DEN HEERE MET SNARENSPEL ENDE ORGEL PS. 150'. Montrose monograms are carved on the doors of the pipe case and on the ends of the keys. Another charming allusion to the first Scottish owner is that several of the pipe stoppers are carved in the form of thistles.³⁴

Blair Atholl Castle in Perthshire houses a chamber organ built in 1650 by the English builder John Loosemore of Exeter (b.1613). The specification is:

Stop/ped	Diapason	48 ft.7
Principal		74 ft.7
Twelfth		72-2/3 ft.7
Fifteenth		72 ft.7
Regal		78 ft.7

The instrument is very much in the tradition of Henry VIII's regals of one hundred and twenty years earlier. (See for example the Inventory of Royal instruments dating about 1547 in the British Museum Harleian MS 1419 (A), ff. 200-01). The four flue stops all have wooden pipes.³⁵

A Further attempt at Organ destruction

The puritannical Presbyterians did not relax their position for one moment. They remained undaunted during

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38. A detailed account of its history is given in Carisbrooke Castle Museum - A Guide to the Collections, by J.D. Jones, Newport, I.O.W., 1960 Plate 14 and pp. 24-7.
39. Further information is given in: W.F. Galpin (revised Thurston Dart), Old English Instruments of Music, London, 1965, pp. 167-70 and Plate 47; C. Clutton and A. Niland, The British Organ, London, 1963, pp. 52, 503; W.L. Sumner, The Organ - Its evolution, principles of construction and use, London, 1962, p.62.

the period of Episcopalian supremacy and their persuasive undercurrent of thought soon spread. David Calderwood reiterated their position by writing in 1623 that:

In Ecclesijs reformatis non habent organa
locum aut statum vllum in cultu divino.⁴⁰

Again in 1628 in his article The Pastor and the Prelate he persisted:

The PASTOR loveth no music in the house of God but such as edifieth, and stoppeth his ears at instrumental music as serving for the pedagogy of the untoward Jews under the law, and being figurative of that spiritual joy whereunto our hearts should be opened under the gospel.

The PRELATE loveth carnal and curious singing to the ear, more than the spiritual melody of the gospel, and therefore would have antiphony and organs in the cathedral Kirks, upon no greater reason than other shadows of the law of Moses; or lesser instruments, as lutes, citherns, or pipes, might be used in other Kirks.⁴¹

Perhaps instruments were used in Dunblane and Brechin Cathedrals and in other 'haunts' of 'high-churchmen', but there is no proof of this. The puritans finally had their way.

After the Scottish Book of Common Prayer had been ousted in 1637, there was no longer any necessity to keep the 'glorious organs of the chapell royall'. In 1638 they were 'masterfully broken down, and no service used ther; but the haill chapplains, choristers, and musicians are discharged; and the costly organs altogether destroyed

40. Altare Damascenum, 1623.

41. 'The Pastor and the Prelate' - printed in the Presbyterian Armoury, vol. III, Edinburgh, 1846.

and made useless'.⁴² A Kirk Session minute of 5 April 1643 tells how the 'unprofitable instrument moths and consumes':

The matter being motioned concerning that organ which was taken down and put in the yle (now lying idle mothing and consuming, yea moreover the same being an unprofitable instrument and scandalous to our profession) whether the same might be sold for a tolerable price and the money given unto the poor.⁴³

Not content with organ destruction in Scotland, Scotsmen also did damage south of the border. On Midsummer day 1641 they visited Durham Cathedral, 'fell upon the organs, broke them up and tore up all the keys of ye great organs'. To prevent further damage to the organ, the pipes were carried out the following night to safety. But later, in 1650, some four thousand five hundred Scottish prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar were brought to Durham where the Cathedral was used as their prison house. These prisoners burnt up all the wood of the organ cases and any other wood upon which they could lay their hands so that nothing remained.⁴⁴

The English Parliament issued an Ordinance on 9 May 1644 directing the general removal of organs from the churches in England.⁴⁵ The Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly were in London at this time, and they were in full favour of the English Parliament's

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42. Spalding, History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, vol. I, Spalding and Bannatyne Clubs, Edinburgh, 1828, p.61.
43. R. Selby Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, Edinburgh, 1958, p.66.
44. Notice in the South Choir Aisle, Durham Cathedral.
45. P. Scholes, The Puritans and Music.

decision. They stated their views in a letter written to the General Assembly in Edinburgh:

As wee cannot but admire the good hand of God in the great things done here already, particularly; That the Covenant (the foundation of the whole work) is taken; Prelacy and the whole traine thereof, extirpated; The Service book in many place forsaken, plaine and powerfull preaching set up; Many Colleges in Cambridge provyded with such Ministers, as are most zealous of the best Reformation; Altars removed; The Communion in some Place given at the table with sitting; The great Organs at Pauls and Peters in Westminster taken downe; Images and many other monuments of Idolatry defaced and abolished; The Chaple royall at Whitehall purged and reformed. And all by Authority in a quiet manner at noone day, without tumult ...

Worcester House, London
the 20th of May 1644

/signed/ Jo Maitland Samuel Rutherford
Alex^r. Henderson Robert Baillie
George Gillespie⁴⁶

In Scotland an Act of Parliament, 1 June 1649, dealt the final blow. By the Act certain Commissioners of the Treasury were given a warrant to dispose of the organ in the Chapel Royal:

The Estaits of Parliament now presentlie conveyed in this thrid sessioun of this second Trienniall parliament Givis full power to the Commissionnars of the thesaurerie To tak/e/ the organs out of the chappell royall and dispois upon the same quhairanent thir presentis shal be thair warrand.⁴⁷

Obviously there was no need to extend this warrant further,

46. General Register House, Edinburgh, MS. CH1/1.9. Acts of Assembly and St. Andrews 1642, and at Edinburgh, 1643-6.

The whole subject was widely discussed in contemporary correspondence, e.g. Letter from R. Baillie to W. Spang, 18 February 1644 - in Baillie's Letters, vol.II, p.130.

47. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. VI, Pt.II, Cap.31, p.389.

as there was actually little left in the way of organs to dispose. Most of the destruction had already taken place by the end of the sixteenth century. The Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford wrote:

Who can say that the grace of joy in the Holy Ghost, wrought by the droning of organs, and the holinesse taught by surplices, is a work of the Spirit merited by Christ our High Priest?⁴⁸

48. Divine Right of Church Government, 1646.

VI

THE EDUCATION AND STATUS OF THE CHURCH
MUSICIAN

The Reformed Kirk attached considerable importance to the business of education. Teaching (as in pre-Reformation times) was considered to be the prerogative and duty of the Kirk, whether in song school, grammar school or university. A general system of education was formulated in the First Book of Discipline 1560, whereby every town was to have a school and every parish a schoolmaster, and children of all - whether rich or poor - were to have an education, according to their capacity. The General Assembly of the Church on 1 July 1562 agreed that certain revenues should be set apart

for the poor and their support; for maintenance of schools for instruction of the youth in every parish; and the same to be taken of the twa part of the teinds [tithes], and within burrows of the annual rents, and other such things as before served to idolatrie.¹

This was the aim and ideal but in actual fact the Church lacked the resources to carry out the scheme with complete success.

The redistribution of Church property at the Reformation in many cases deprived musicians of their accustomed revenues.² In 1560 the Church song schools either closed their doors or continued to give only irregular teaching. Consequently, within twenty years from the Reformation, the art of music had reached a very low ebb. An Act of Parliament of 11 November 1579 - 'For instruction of the

1. The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. I, 1560-77, p.17.

2. Details are given in J. McQuaid's Musicians of the Scottish Reformation.

youth in musik'³ -- spoke of music and singing as 'almaist decayit' in the realm. Measures were taken by Parliament, the Church and the Crown to remedy the situation.

The Act of Parliament requested town councils and college authorities to set up or reform song schools with qualified teachers. Two years later, in 1581, the General Assembly officially assigned a portion of the 'hail rent and patromony of the Kirk' to the 'takaris up of the Psalmes' (i.e. the precentors) in the churches.⁴ Such-like measures contributed to a revival of music study in Scotland, and the song schools, in some cases under Royal patronage, resumed activity.

King James VI and I endowed music schools in Musselburgh (1609) and in Elgin (1620),⁵ and Queen Anne, his consort, endowed the grammar and song schools in Dunfermline (1610). The bond by the magistrates of Dunfermline following on Queen Anne's endowment is registered in the Register of Deeds under the date 5 September 1610.⁶

The 'Deed of Conveyance' reads:

Be it kend to all men ... that ... For as much as the Right High, Right Excellent, and Mighty Princess Anna be the Grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Lady Dunfermline, and her highnesses successors in the Lordship of Dunfermline, having the Free nomination and presentation to our said Burgh, of her natural love and affection to virtue, promotion of liberal sciences, Education of the Youth ... Intertainment of the Masters and

3. Appendix III, p. 212.

4. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, Cap. XII, 16, printed in The Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. II, 1578-92, p. 510.

5. J. Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, London and Glasgow, 1876, p. 374.

6. General Register House, MS. Hay Vol. 176, f. 226v.

Instructura thereof ... has instantly caused Henry Wardlaw of Balmule, Her Highness's Chamberlain, advanced pay and deliver to us for ourselves and in name of the heall community of the said Burgh - the sum of two thousand pounds usual Scots money ... The present Master of the Grammar School of Dunfermline, and his successors, the sum of one hundred pounds (yearly), and to the present Master of the Song School, and his successors, the sum of one other hundred pounds money foresaid, to be paid yearly and termly in all time coming, at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas.

The Song Schools

Parish, grammar and song schools were normally organized by Kirk sessions and town councils working in collaboration. In the better shires - Aberdeen, Forfar and Fife, for example - more than half the parishes had schools of some sort, or schoolmasters; but as a fixed 'provision' was not made in every case, there was no guarantee of continuity in these arrangements. Parish (or elementary) schools taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic and elements of religion. Boys attended between seven and nine or ten years of age, then a few went on to grammar school. Elgin grammar school in September 1566 taught 'grammar, oratorie, poetrie, civill manneris, rhetoric (and if need be) Greik and Ebrew, philosophie and logik'.⁷

The main functions of the song schools were: to provide church choirs, to teach the psalm tunes, to give instruction in vocal and instrumental music and music theory, and to teach reading and writing. Some song

7. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1886, p.395.

schools paid more attention to music study than others. The Song school of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen was a true music school, but St. Machar's music school, Old Aberdeen, was more like an elementary school with music as one of the subjects taught.⁸

Song schools were established or re-establishing from the 1570's onwards, and provided livings for musicians in the following centres; Aberdeen (St. Machar and St. Nicholas), Ayr, Cupar, Dumfries, Dunbar, Dundee, Dunfermline Edinburgh (at least three separate song schools plus a number of private ones), Elgin, Glasgow, Haddington, Inverness, Irvine, Lanark, Montrose, Musselburgh, Paisley, Perth, South Leith, Stirling, St. Andrews and Tain. The majority of these schools were at their most flourishing state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but they died out or became amalgamated in the parish and grammar schools during the course of the seventeenth century.

The Song School Teachers

The teacher in the song school often combined in himself the offices of session clerk, precentor and reader in the Kirk. The Church musician, being an educated member of the community and very often an important Kirk official, was respected in society for his ability and learning. Many musicians such as John Angus, John Black, Andrew Blackhall, John Fethy and David Peebles were in holy orders, and the title 'sir' was normally used to denote clergyman status.

8. C.S. Terry, 'The Music School of Old Machar', Miscellany of 3rd Spalding Club, vol 2, Aberdeen, 1940, pp. 225-46.

The evidence shows that the church and town authorities endeavoured to obtain the most suitably qualified musicians as teachers in their song schools. South Leith required a reader and a song school master in April 1610. The Kirk session asked Thomas Barclay to write to Aberdeen about the matter, and in the next month Barclay's servant was sent to Aberdeen 'for ane man to be reader and musicianer'. The servant was given twelve pounds for expenses.⁹ The musician who accepted this position at South Leith was James Sanders from the music school of Old Machar, Aberdeen.¹⁰

Aspiring candidates were sometimes subjected in public to a competitive examination in reading, writing, arithmetic and music (both vocal and instrumental). They were expected to have the ability to act as a precentor. An examination was held at an Edinburgh song school on 23 November 1593 to try John Chalmer who had applied for the position of master of the song school. The examiners in this case were 'James Gray, James Lawder, [] Elie, fraycheman, [] McCallow, Patrik Dunbar - musicians'. They found Chalmer 'qualefeyit in the airt of musik and playing upoun the virginallis'.¹¹ This was evidently something of a social occasion, for the Treasurer's Accounts record:

... Item; payit for ane quart of wyme and ane bust confetis at the trying of the man that is presently maister of the sang schole - 20s. 12

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9. South Leith Records - Parish Registers 1588-1700, ed. D. Robertson, Edinburgh, 1911, p.9.
 10. ibid., p.11.
Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1846, (1610).
 11. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1589-1603, pp. 103, 104.
 12. ibid. p.103.

The principal song school teacher was generally referred to as the 'master'; his assistant was the 'doctor'. Some song school teachers - Duncan Burnett of Glasgow, Andrew Kemp of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, and John Buchan of Haddington, for example - were composers of note; of others - such as John Mitchell of Cupar and John Mow of Dundee - nothing is known. Here are lists of the known teachers at Scottish song schools. The information is taken mainly from extant Burgh Records and Kirk Session Registers.

Aberdeen, St. Nicholas

1544	John Fethy, master ¹³
1556	John Black, master ¹⁴
	(no regular teaching from 1560-70)
1570	Andrew Kemp, master ¹⁵
1575-87	John Black, master ¹⁶
1577	James Simson, doctor ¹⁷
1587-89	John Anderson, master ¹⁸
1589-98	William Skene, master ¹⁹
1598	John Leslye, master ²⁰
1598-1626	Patrick Walker, doctor ²¹

13. Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville, ed. W. Walker, Aberdeen, 1899, pp. 106, 119.

14. ibid.

15. Aberdeen Burgh Records, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844, 6 October 1570.

16. A. Melville, op. cit. p.108.

17. Aberdeen Burgh Records, 4 October 1577.

18. A. Melville, op. cit. p.108.

19. ibid. pp. 108, 109, 113.

20. ibid. p. 92.

21. ibid. p. 109.

1607-36	Patrick Davidson, master ²²
1617-36	Andrew Melville, doctor ²³
1636	Andrew Melville, master ²⁴
1640-75	Thomas Davidson, master ²⁵
1651-52	William Forbes, interim master ²⁶

Aberdeen, St. Machar

c.1540-70	Robert Porter, master ²⁷
c.1575	William Meldrum, master ²⁸
1607	Walter Lindsay, master ²⁹
c.1610	James Sanders, master ³⁰
1626	Patrik Walter, chorister ³¹
	William Watson, chorister ³²
1628	Gilbert Ross, master ³³
1641	Alexander Wilguis, master ³⁴
1646-55	William Logan, master ³⁵

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22. ibid. pp. 42, 44, 110, 113.
 23. ibid. pp. 44, 91, 113, 123.
 24. ibid. pp. 44, 91, 113, 123.
 25. ibid. pp. 42, 98, 113.
 26. ibid. p.98.
 27. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.288.
 28. ibid. p.275.
 29. ibid. p.274.
 30. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, (1610).
 31. Records of Old Aberdeen, vol. II, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1909, p.4.
 32. ibid. p.5.
 33. ibid. p.7.
 34. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.310.
 35. ibid. p.274.

Ayr

- 1583-4 reference to a master³⁶
 1600 reference to a master³⁷
 1601-5 Alexander Spittel, master³⁸
 c.1610 Alexander Fiddes, master³⁹
 1612-16 James Lawrie, master⁴⁰
 1617-24 William Smith, master⁴¹

Dundee

- 1584 John Williamson, master⁴²
 1602 reference to a master⁴³
 1609 John Mow, master⁴⁴
 c.1613-33 John More, master⁴⁵
 (The song school was rebuilt in 1636)⁴⁶

Edinburgh (Principal song school)

- before 1568 John Fethy, master⁴⁷
 1574 Edward Henryson, precentor⁴⁸

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36. Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, ed. G.S. Pryde, Edinburgh, 1937, p.149.
 37. ibid. p.204.
 38. ibid. p.209.
 39. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.263.
 40. Ayr Burgh Accounts, op. cit. p.256.
 41. ibid. p.262.
 42. H.M. Willsher, Music in Scotland, 1450-1750. Unpublished D. Litt. dissertation, St. Andrews, 1945, p.240.
 43. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380.
 44. ibid.
 45. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.281.
 46. Burgh Records of Dundee, Dundee, 1880.
 47. General Register House, Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. I, f. 17v.
 48. Register of the General Kirk of Edinburgh, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, (25) Edinburgh, 1840.

- 1579 Andrew Buchan, master
reference to a doctor.⁴⁹
- 1582 James Henryson, master⁵⁰
- 1586 David Cuming, master⁵¹
- 1593 John Chalmer, master⁵²
- 1597-1602 Alexander Henryson, master⁵³
- 1602 Samuel Henryson, master⁵⁴
- 1609 Patrick Henryson, master⁵⁵

Edinburgh (other music schools)

- 1585 Gilbert Henryson, master⁵⁶
- c.1616-25 Walter Troup, master⁵⁷
- c.1617 James Crichtone, private teacher⁵⁸
- 1627 Claud Buccellis, private teacher⁵⁹
- 1630 Stephen Tilliedaff, master⁶⁰
- 1633 John Hart, private teacher⁶¹

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49. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1573-89, ed. J. Marwick, Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1882, p.126.
50. ibid. p.128.
51. ibid. p.450.
52. ibid. p.106.
53. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1589-1603, ed. M. Wood, Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1926-30, p.191.
54. ibid. p.309.
55. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1604-26, ed. M. Wood, Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1931-5, p.50.
56. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-89, p.450.
57. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1604-26, p.144.
58. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.247.
59. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, ed. M. Wood, Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1935, p.20.
60. ibid. p.85.
61. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 2nd Ser: vol. I, 1633-5, ed. P. Hume Brown, Edinburgh 1904, p.115.

- 1634 Andrew Ritchie, private teacher⁶²
 c.1646 Robert Watson, private teacher⁶³
 c.1646 John Mill, private teacher⁶⁴

Elgin

- 1595 William Fraser, master⁶⁵
 1597 George Douglas, master⁶⁶
 1620 David Cowie, doctor⁶⁷
 1622 John Schilps, doctor⁶⁸
 1625 David Murray, master⁶⁹
 1640-54 William Murray, master⁷⁰

Glasgow

- 1577-87 or on William Struthers, master⁷¹
 1579 Duncan Finlay⁷²
 before 1638 Duncan Burnett, master⁷³
 1595 John Buchan, master⁷⁴
 1608 reference to a master⁷⁵

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62. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41. p.135.
 63. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.309.
 64. ibid. p.281.
 65. The Records of Elgin vol. II, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1908, p.337.
 66. ibid. p.398.
 67. The Records of Elgin vol. II, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1886, p.164.
 68. ibid. p.167.
 69. The Records of Elgin vol.II, 1908, p.401.
 70. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.283.
 71. R. Wodrow, Biographical Collections, Maitland Club, 1834-5, vol. II, pp. 22-3.
 72. Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow, 1573-81, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1832, p.116.
 73. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1573-1642, Glasgow, 1876, p.388.
 74. ibid. p.161.
 75. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380.

1626-38 James Saunders, master (precentor until 1646)⁷⁶
 1638 Duncan Burnett, master⁷⁷
 1646 John Cant, precentor⁷⁸

Perth

c.1579 John Swinton, master⁷⁹
 1599 John Wemyss, master⁸⁰
 1605 James Young, master⁸¹
 c.1610 Thomas Garvy, master⁸²
 1617-37 Henry Adamson, master⁸³

South Leith

c.1610 James Sanders, master⁸⁴
 1632 John Sibbald, master⁸⁵
 1635 Charles Watson, Precentor⁸⁶
 1643 David Adinstone, master,
 and Alexander King, doctor⁸⁷

76. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow
1573-1642, p.354.

77. ibid. p.388.

78. ibid. p.96.

79. Extracts from the Kirk Session Register of Perth,
Spottiswood Miscellany, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1845,
p.242;
J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.300.

80. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.309.

81. ibid. p.411.

82. ibid. p.230.

83. ibid. p.230.

84. South Leith Records - Parish Registers 1588-1700,
pp. 9. 11.

85. ibid. p.22.

86. ibid. p.24.

87. ibid. p.46.

Stirling

- 1619 John Row, master⁸⁸
 c.1620 William Row, precentor and teacher⁸⁹
 1620 James Edmeston, master⁹⁰
 And David Murray, doctor⁹¹

St. Andrews

- c.1560-c.69 Andrew Kemp, master⁹³
 c.1556-60 Ninian Roule, precentor⁹⁴
 1560 Alexander Smith, doctor of the Abbey
 song school⁹⁵
 c.1595 John Ross, master⁹⁶
 1599 John Roull, master⁹⁷
 1626-6 reference to a master⁹⁸

Scant information is extant on some other song
 school appointments;

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88. 'Stirling Kirk Session Records', Miscellany of the
 Maitland Club (25), Edinburgh, 1834, pp. 445 f.
 89. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.294.
 90. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling
 1519-1666, Glasgow, 1887, p.155.
 91. ibid.
 92. Burgh Records, op. cit. p.136.
 93. Calendar of the Laing Charters, Edinburgh, 1899,
 no. 846.
 94. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.291.
 95. St. Andrews Kirk Session Registers, vol. I, 1559-82,
 Edinburgh, 1889, p.40.
 96. St. Andrews Kirk Session Registers, vol.II, 1582-
 1600, Edinburgh, 1890, p.813.
 97. ibid. p.908.
 98. J. Grant, op/cit. p.380.

<u>Cupar</u>	1581	reference to a master	99
	c.1627	John Mitchell, doctor	100
<u>Dumfries</u>	1633	reference to a master	101
<u>Dunbar</u>	1621	reference to a master	102
<u>Dunfermline</u>	1610	reference to a master	103
<u>Haddington</u>	1583/4	John Buchan, master	104
<u>Inverness</u>	1628	reference to a master	105
<u>Irving</u>	1633	reference to a master	106
<u>Lanark</u>	1628	reference to a master	107
<u>Montrose</u>	1570	reference to a doctor	108
	1623	John Croll, master	109
<u>Musselburgh</u>	1609	royal endowment for the song school	110
<u>Paisley</u>	1618	reference to a master	111
<u>Tain</u>	before 1595	William Fraser, master	112
	1628	reference to a master	113

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99. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380
100. ibid.
J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.280.
101. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380
102. ibid.
103. General Register House, MS. Hay vo.176, f.226v.
(Register of Deeds).
104. Privy Seal Register, vol. I, f.95r.
105. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380.
106. ibid.
107. ibid.
108. J. Melvill, Autobiography and Diary, p.22.
109. H.M. Willsher, op. cit. p.244.
110. J. Grant, op. cit. p.374.
N. Livingston, Scottish Psalter of 1635, Glasgow, 1864, p.21.
111. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380.
112. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1908, p.337.
113. J. Grant, op. cit. p.380.

Salaries and payments

There was a good deal of variation from one school to another in the amounts paid to song school teachers. Masters were usually paid a salary by the town council and this was augmented by fees paid from the kirk session funds. Teachers also received extra fees paid quarterly by each pupil; these were paid directly and formed part of the teacher's emoluments.

James Lewrie, as master of the Ayr song school, received in 1613/14 a basic stipend of eighty pounds.¹¹⁴ John Cant, master of the song school in Glasgow in 1646, received a salary of forty pounds, one hundred and sixty merks from kirk session funds and other small fees for instrumental and vocal tuition.¹¹⁵

Doctors' payments were lower. David Murray who was appointed doctor of the Stirling song school in December 1620, was paid 'fiftie merkis money yearly' by the Town Council. He was also entitled to:

aucht /eight/ s/hillings/ in the quarter for schollage and buirde of ilk toun bairne that sall leirne to reid and write, and sex s/hillings/ viij d. mair of ilk toun bairne that salbe teachit in the musik, and libertie to half of outlandis bairnes according to the benevolence of parentis.¹¹⁶

The Kirk Session 'at the desyr of the Magistratis and Councell' paid an extra twenty merks per annum for his services as precentor.¹¹⁷

114. Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, p.57.

115. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1573-1642, p.96.

116. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling 1519-1666, p.155.

117. Stirling Kirk Session Records, op. cit. 19 December 1620.

Payments were made for the rent and upkeep of song school buildings and for other miscellaneous items. These extracts, relating to the song school in Ayr, seem typical:

1612/13 - For a suit of clothes promised to James Lawrie, master of the Music School, £20.

1614/15 - To George Liddell for a glass window in the master of the Song School's chamer, £1-7s.-6d.

1617 - For the carriage of Mr. William Smyth, master of the Music School, and his gear to this burgh in Sept. 1617, £40.118

Song School Curriculum, Books, Methods, Discipline

A record of the burgh school of the Cross Kirk at Peebles, dating 1631, gives a school timetable. This shows that the school day was a long one:

6-9 a.m. morning prayer and psalms, learning and teaching the morning lessons, with Latin and Scots.

10-11 a.m. teaching

11-12 a.m. writing

1.30-5.45 p.m. teaching and learning.

5.45-6 p.m. a prayer, chapter and psalm. 119

Song schools taught singing, instrumental music and music theory. The graces of right living were also imparted. Andrew Kemp on his appointment as master at the song school of St. Nicholas Aberdeen (6 October 1570), was required 'to teiche and instruct thair youtheid and cheildreine in the said facultay of mwseik, meaners, and wertew'. 120

118. Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, pp. 256, 258, 262.

119. The Book of the Cross Kirk, Peebles, 1560-1690, ed. G. Gunn, Peebles, 1912, p.103.

120. Aberdeen Burgh Records.

It is fortunate that Andrew Melville, who taught at the Aberdeen song school (St. Nicholas) from 1617 until 1640, recorded the names of his library books in a Commonplace Book¹²¹ dating about 1637. His collection of books was fairly wide-ranging and contained works on divinity, poetry, grammar, arithmetic, music and 'ane A B C' of instruction on manners and morals. The music books mentioned would, no doubt, have been used at the song school:

Name of book	Possible identification ¹²²
ane grytt book written of the airt of musick	'Art of Music', British Museum Add MS. 4911?
ane singing book robert ogilvye	Melvill's Book of Roundels
ane psalme book in four pairts in print	Raban's 1625 Psalter? or the Millar-Hart 1635 Psalter?
ane old psalme book	unidentifiable
ane luitt book	unidentifiable
doctere bells Wassinghame	John Bull's variations
ane little Book of the airt of musick	Thomas Campion's <u>A new Way of Making fowre Parts</u> , London, 1610 - or - Charles Butler's <u>Principles of Music</u> , London, 1636? - or - William Bathe's <u>Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke</u> . 1584?
ane French book of the airt of musick	Marin Mersenne's <u>Harmonie Universelle</u> , 1636-7? - or - Ballard's <u>Traicte de la musique</u> , 1617?
ane fur pairts plain in wreitt wt lattin letters	four-part motets in manuscript?
gloris pateris	a set of 'conclusions' for the metrical psalms
duche psalmes	an edition of <u>Souter Liedekens</u> (first published at Antwerp in 1540)? - or - John Day's <u>Dutch Psalms</u> , 1560?

121. A. Melville, op. cit. Original in King's College, Aberdeen.

122. Taken mainly from H.M. Shire's 'Andro Melvill's Music Library; Aberdeen, 1637', in Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, vol. IV, pt. I, 1955-6, pp. 1-12.

The list of identities is, of course, speculative.

prick singing

Thomas Morley's A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, London 1597 (second edition - 1608)? - or - William Bathe's Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke, 1584?

ane psalm book

unidentifiable

ane brief Introduction to Musick

William Bathe's Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke, 1584?

The definitions and divisions of moods, tymes, prolationes in measurable musick, by Thomas Ravenscroft, Batchelor of Music.

Thomas Ravenscroft's Brief Discourse, London, 1614.

In 1622, John Forbes, an Aberdeen printer, published a music book titled:

Cantus, Songs and Fancies, To Thre, Foure, or Five Partes, both apt for Voices and Viols, With a brieve Introduction of Musick As taught in the Musick-Schole of Aberdene by T.D. Mr. of Musick.¹²³

The 'brieve Introduction' was by Thomas Davidson, who succeeded Andrew Melville as master of the song school in 1640 and remained there until his death in 1675. The 'Introduction' begins with the gamut diagram (the 'Guidonian hand')¹²⁴ illustrating the hexachord system) as an aid to memorizing the scale and its solmization syllables. This method was still in current use in seventeenth century Scotland as it is described in theoretical works of the period. For example, a later Scottish manuscript - National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 5.2.16.¹²⁵ - gives this rhyme:

To attain the musick art
Learn Gamut up and down by heart
Thereby to learn your Rules and spaces
Notes' names are known by knowing their places
No man can sing true at first sight
Unless he names his notes aright.

123. Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California, H.E.H. 14234.

124. Worked out by Guido D'Arezzo in the eleventh century.

125. early 18th century?

Which soon is learned if that your mi
You know its place where er'e it be.

Both this anonymous manuscript and Thomas Davidson's 'Introduction' used the favourite catechism method of question and answer. Davidson dealt with 'Cliefs, Con-cords, Discords, Moods, Tyme, Frolation, Notes, (their names, number and proportions) Rests, of Prick and notes of Syncopation, and Ligatures'. Here is an extract dealing with concords:

- Q. What is a Concord?
A. It is a mixt sound compact of diverse voices, entring with delight in the eare, and is either perfect or imperfect.
Q. What is a perfect concord?
A. It is that which may stand by it self, and of it self maketh a perfect harmony, without the mixture of any other.
Q. What is an imperfect Concord?
A. It is that which maketh not a full sound, and needeth the following of a perfect concord, to make it stand in the Harmonie.
Q. How many concords is there?
A. Nine
Q. Which nine?
A. An Unisone, a third, a fifth, a sixth, an octo, a tenth, a twelfth, a thirteenth and a fifteenth.¹²⁶

A more comprehensive and detailed Scottish treatise on muic theory is The Art of Mvsic collectit ovt of all Ancient Doctovris of mvsic.¹²⁷ This manuscript is of anonymous authorship and dates from the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹²⁸ The fifteen chapters deal with

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126. Except for the last two sentences quoted, this extract is in fact a transcript, verbatim et leteratim, of a passage in Thomas Morley's A Plain and Easy Intro-duction to Practical Music. cf. R.A. Harman's edition, London, 1963, p.141.
127. British Museum MS. Add. 4911.
128. It is certainly later than 1558 - f.102; Dr. K. Elliott in his thesis (The Music of Scotland 1500-1700, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1959/60, pp. 265, 270, 271) dates it c.1570-1580.

'Mesvr, tym, Figur, Paus, Mud, Prolation, Siug, perfection, Imperfection, punct, alteration, sincopa, tactus, Augmentatione, dimmitio, Colur, Discant, Proportioun, Ligatur, Countering, Canon and Fabvrdun'. Authors and composers mentioned in The Art of Music include: Volicus Baroducensis, Robert Fairfax, Gaforio, Erasmus Lapidida, Joannes de Muris, Andreas Ornithoparcus, Josquin des Prez, Faber Strabulensis and Jean Tinctoris.

The Kirk Sessions generally kept a careful watch on the workings of the song schools and did not hesitate to admonish both masters and scholars when they thought it necessary to do so. At the song school of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, Andrew Kemp was warned, in April 1574, to 'give no play nor any privoledge' to his boys 'in the days dedicated to superstition in Papistrie', but to 'reteyne them those dayes at theyr lessonis'.¹²⁹ In August 1610, James Sanders, master of the music school of Old Machar, Aberdeen, was ordered to be obedient and to

tak vp the psalme ewerie Saboth in the morning, both befoir and efter the prayeris and in tyme cuming, according to auld use and wount.¹³⁰

In the parish of Elgin the 'maisteris of the Grammar and Sang Scholes' were 'appointit to disciplin thair disciples that trublit the Kirk this day'¹³¹ (4 November 1599), and again they were admonished to cause their 'bairnis come to the Kirk on Sondaye at the ringing of the second bell with a grytar modestie and to repair on Wedinsday to the Kirk or the outringing of the third bell' (7 March 1602).¹³²

129. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, p.16.

130. ibid.

131. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1886, p.75.

132. ibid. p.100; For other disciplinary measures see ch.II, p. 51.

The Aberdeen and Edinburgh song schools were perhaps the centres of greatest musical importance in Scotland during the Reformation period. The Elgin song school, too, seems to have been well organised.¹³³

Edinburgh song schools

The master of the song school at St. Giles at the time of the Reformation was John Fethy (or Futhy), a musician and composer of some note. He had served in the choir of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen and had taught in the song school there from 1541 until about 1556.¹³⁴ Thomas Wood, vicar of St. Andrews,¹³⁵ mentions in his St. Andrew Psalter MSS that Fethy

... was the first organeist that ever brought in Scotland the curious new fingering and playing on organs ...¹³⁶
... was a papeist preist, and the first trim organeist that ever wes in Scotland.¹³⁷

Fethy's four-part composition O God above¹³⁸ of which he wrote both words and music, was included in Wood's part-books. Fethy had left Edinburgh by 1568, since in that year he is referred to as 'late Mastef of the Choir School of St.Giles'.¹³⁹

Little is known of the Edinburgh song schools until 1579, the year of the Act of Parliament 'For instructioun of the youth in musik'.¹⁴⁰ However, precentors functioned

133. The story of the Aberdeen song schools had been told in detail;

A. Melville, op. cit.;

C.S. Terry, op. cit.;

C.S. Terry, 'Song School Notes', unpublished MS, King's College, Aberdeen, MS.699;

H.M. Willsher, op. cit. pp.215-37.

134. A. Melville, op. cit. pp. 106, 119.

135. ch. VII, p.149.

136. Quintus part-book. 'New fingering' probably refers to the use of the thumb.

137. First tenor part-book.

138. Musica Britannica, vol. XV, no.37.

139. General Register House, Edinburgh, Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. I, f.17v.

140. Appendix III, p.212.

in Edinburgh Kirks and the Henryson (or Henderson) family provided musicians for the High Kirk of St. Giles and masters at the song school for at least forty years. On 6 January 1574 Edward Henryson and his son were ordained to sing psalms on preaching days in 'sic touns as are maist colmoun for the Kirk'.¹⁴¹

Andrew Buchan seems to have been the first master of the burgh song school after the Reformation settlement. He was appointed by the baillies, council and deacons on 27 November 1579.¹⁴² Buchan was succeeded by James Henryson (son of Edward) who was given a house and land 'besyde Sanct Paules wark' rent free.¹⁴³

On James Henryson's death in 1586, David Cuming was nominated principal 'maister of the sangis scull in the cannongaet' for 'teacheing of the yowth to sing and for taking vp of the psalmes in tyme of preaching and prayeris in the Hie Kirk and East Kirk' of St. Giles.¹⁴⁴ The Collegiate Church of St. Giles had been divided into four smaller Kirks and not until 1634 were these partitions removed.¹⁴⁵ Cuming was 'subiect to teache swa mony of the pair of this burgh as cumis to him in the airt of mwsik,

- 141. 'Register of the General Kirk of Edinburgh', Miscellany of the Maitland Club (25), Edinburgh, 1840.
- 142. Details of payments to Buchan are given in Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1573-89, p.128.
- 143. ibid. p.239
- 144. General Register House, E,inburgh, Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol. II, ff.39, 122;
- 145. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, p.136.

reiding, and writting gratis'.¹⁴⁶ This demonstrates the Kirk's ideal of education for all - whether rich or poor.

In February 1585/6 Gilbert Henryson (another son of Edward) was given licence and authority to teach a 'vulgare schole of reiding writting and singing'.¹⁴⁷ This was apparently a different school from the music school in the Canongate. The history of the Edinburgh song schools becomes confused at this time and it is difficult to sort out one school from another.

On 21 December 1593 John Chalmer was appointed song school master and precentor in the High and East Kirk of St. Giles. Payments required of the 'toun bayrnis' during Chalmer's mastership were:

For instruction in reading and writing - 6s. 8d. quarterly.

For instruction in singing - 10s. quarterly.

For instruction in discanting - 13s. 4d. quarterly.

For instruction in playing and singing - 20s. quarterly.

For lessons in reading, writing, singing, 'setting' and playing - £2 - 10s.¹⁴⁸

It was during Chalmer's time, too, that a new music school was 'biggett in the Kirkyard' of St. Giles. This was in 1594/5.¹⁴⁹ The building took thirteen weeks to erect and cost £502 - 4s. - 10d.¹⁵⁰

The Henryson family were soon back taking a lead in

146. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1573-89, p.406

147. ibid. p.450.

148. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1589-1603, p.106.

149. ibid. p.317.

150. ibid. p.345;
Guild Accounts, pp. 578-87.

the musical life of Edinburgh. Alexander Henryson was constituted master of the song school, precentor and reader in June 1597.¹⁵¹ He had two sons, both of whom were musical. Patrik was made bursar of the town's college and precentor in the 'Wester Kirk' on 3 September 1600,¹⁵² and his brother, Samuel, succeeded his father as master of the song school on 13 July 1602.¹⁵³ Samuel Henryson became a reader in the High Kirk in place of Thomas Watson, and was granted permission to teach the rudiments of grammar to the children of his school.¹⁵⁴ By an Act of Council, 8 March 1609, Patrik Henryson was appointed reader and precentor in the two Kirks (High and East Kirk) and master of the song school on the death of his brother. He was also required to keep charge of the baptism and marriage books in place of Thomas Watson.¹⁵⁵ In 1619 Henryson was cited before the Court of High Commission for absenting himself from duty as precentor at a Christmas service.¹⁵⁶

Private song schools soon became fashionable in Edinburgh. The town council permitted only certain qualified musicians to hold these, and in 1618 disallowed two persons to keep music schools. On 31 July 1616 Walter Troupe, a gentleman of the Chapel at Holyroodhouse, was admitted master of a song school at two hundred merks a year.¹⁵⁷

151. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1589-1603, p.191.

152. ibid. p.271.

153. ibid. p.309.

154. ibid. p.317.

155. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1604-26, p.50.

156. ibid. p.xxviii.

157. ibid. p.144.

He seems to have been a successful teacher, for on 2 October, 1618 the council saw fit to grant him his house and school at the Netherbow rent free because of his 'guid behaviour'.¹⁵⁸ On 26 January 1627, Claud Buccellis, a Frenchman, was licensed to teach instrumental music.¹⁵⁹ In December 1630, Stephen Tilliedaff, also a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was permitted to keep a music school provided that he was prepared to serve the 'guid toun when they sall have occassion to imploy him'.¹⁶⁰ Others licensed to teach at music schools were: Andrew Ritchie (November 1634),¹⁶¹ Robert Watson (1646)¹⁶² and John Mill (1646).¹⁶³

Elgin song school

The song school at Elgin was revived in 1595 when the town council appointed William Fraser of Tain as master. Fraser accepted the

cuir function and office of ane maister of the Sang Schuill to instruct and upbring the youth of the said brut in the art and sciens of musick so far as God has grantit him grace to declair to thame and they to ressaue the samyn ... and forder the said Wm Fraser bindis and oblissis him faythfullie that he sall ilk Sondag and preching day within the parochie Kirk of Elgin and alsua at prayer tyme daylie eftir and afoir noyn be him selff and his scollaris or vther sum sufficient man deput be him in caice of his absens vpoun mecessar

158. ibid. p.182.

159. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, p.20.

160. ibid. p.85.

161. ibid. p.135.

162. J. McQuaid, op. cit. p.309.

163. ibid. p.281.

occasionis vptak the psalme befoir and
after preching ordinarlye at tymes wait
and wount ...¹⁶⁴

For this he was granted the fruits and rents of the prebendary of Maisondieu, one of the principal revenues gifted to musicians after the Reformation.¹⁶⁵

Fraser was succeeded in 1597 by George Douglas. Douglas taught 'virginallis, monicordis, luit seister and wtheris the lyk instrumentis'.¹⁶⁶ His contract with the town council required him to teach children to 'reid and wreit' and to 'nortour thame with maneris and curtasie'.¹⁶⁷ Douglas also accepted the gift of the prebendary of Maisondieu. He remained as master of the music school for twenty-eight years.

There are several records dealing with life in the music school during Douglas's incumbency. On 21 December 1599, the boys of the song school were granted ten days holiday, providing that they reported to the church and the school twice each day.¹⁶⁸ The Lord's prayer, the creed and the ten commandments were taught and said in church on certain days each week - 'the musick schollaris ane day and Robert Lesleis schollaris [of the Grammar School] two dayes'.¹⁶⁹ Boys were given elementary religious instruction

164. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1908, p.337.

165. ibid.

166. Another instance of the use of the instruments in song schools is found in the South Leith Records op. cit. p.11 - when the Kirk Session, on 23 April 1615, gave four score merks to James Sanders for 'byinge of ane pair of double wirgenels for ye musick scool and Leithe put on theme'.

167. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, p.398 cf. Kemp p.135 of this chapter.

168. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1886, p.75.

169. ibid. p.80.

in the form of the catechism. It was required that the bairnis repet the commoun catecheis this nixt oulk week nychtlie 12 December 1600 and evenyng and mornyng a psalme to be song, the catecheising and the blissing. The maister off the Sang schole to be spoken anent the daylie psalme at mornyng befoir reding and at evenyng befoir the blissing.¹⁷⁰

Things must have been progressing satisfactorily, for by November 1603 'grammar and literature' were being taught in the song school.¹⁷¹ On 25 June 1620 David Cowy was appointed to help teach the 'young bairnes in the Sang School' to read and write,¹⁷² and on 1 February 1622 John Schilps was appointed to assist George Douglas in teaching duties.¹⁷³ There was a Royal endowment in this year.¹⁷⁴

On 16 May 1625 David Murray of Stirling succeeded Douglas as master of the school. The terms of Murray's contract with the town council required him to teach musik singing playing reiding writting and vther honest cumelie and religiouse exercises cairfullie and diligentlie as becumeth and in sic forme and maner as is obseruit in the best reformat musik scoles within this realme.¹⁷⁵

He was gifted the prebendary of Maisondieu and the 'fruits and rents thereof', to be made up to 'one hundred pounds Scots' by the council if necessary and 'twenty pound Scots' for his room rent.¹⁷⁶

170. ibid. p.85.

171. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1908, p.398.

172. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1886, p.164.

173. ibid. p.167.

174. J. Grant, op. cit. p.374.

175. The Records of Elgin, vol. II, 1908, p.401.

176. ibid.

Church musicians in the Universities

Information on University music and musicians of the period is sparse. It would seem though, that music and singing were reasonably common accomplishments of young scholars and churchmen of the time. At St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, an acquirement of the musical art was encouraged by the authorities.¹⁷⁷ King's College, Aberdeen, supported a music school in the 1630s. On 1 February 1634, Gilbert Ross, reader, chorister and session clerk at St. Machar's Kirk and master of the music school of Old Aberdeen,¹⁷⁸ was appointed to the prebend and office of 'cantor or chorister and maister of the musicke scoole of the said universitie and collegiate Kirk thairrof'. This appointment was approved by the chancellor, rector, prebendars, masters and members of the University.¹⁷⁹

177. ch. II, p.42.

178. Records of Old Aberdeen, vol. II, p.7.

179. Fasti Aberdonenses - Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494 - 1854, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1854, pp. 289, 394.

VII

THE MUSIC

Scholars have examined and described the sources of Reformation Scottish Church music in detail.¹ It is sufficient, therefore, to list the principal sources and to comment briefly on them.

(A) Manuscript Sources:St. Andrews Psalter Part-Books

Two sets of part-books were made of which the following are extant:-

- ('Tribbill' - Edinburgh University Library,
La III 483
- (/Altus/ - British Museum, Add. MS.
33933

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1. W. Cowan, Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Books of the Church of Scotland 1556-1644, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. X, Edinburgh, 1913;
 - K. Elliott, 'Scottish Church Music of the Early Reformed Church', Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, vol. XV, 1961, pp.18-31;
 - K. Elliott, The Music of Scotland 1500-1700, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1959-60;
 - K. Elliott and H.M. Shire, Music of Scotland 1500-1700, Musica Britannica, vol. XV, London, 1957;
 - M. Frost, English and Scottish Psalm and Mymn Tunes 1543-1677, Oxford, 1953;
 - H.S.P. Hutchison, The St. Andrews Psalter; transcription and critical study of Wode's Psalter, Unpublished D. Mus. dissertation, Edinburgh, 1957;
 - N. Livingston, Scottish Psalter of 1635, Glasgow

second set

{ 'Tennowr' - Edinburgh University Library,
La III 483

{ /Bassus/ - Edinburgh University Library,
La III 483

{ /Cantus/ - Edinburgh University Library,
DK. 5. 14.

{ /Bassus/ - Edinburgh University Library,
DK. 5. 15.

There is also a 'fyft Buke' -

/Quintus/ - Trinity College, Dublin.
F. 5. 13.

The collection, in the form of an anthology of sacred and secular part-music and instrumental music, was made by Thomas Wood, who had been a member of the Abbey of Lindores, and was at the Reformation vicar of St. Andrews.² The manuscripts feature marginal notes and pictures. In one note³ Wood tells of the musicians who set the psalm tunes. They included David Peebles, a canon of St. Andrews, Andrew Blackhall of Mussilborough and John Angus of Dunfermline.

2. H. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, Revised and continued edition, Edinburgh, 1950.

3. Tenor part-book, pp. 166-7.
Printed in modern spelling in H.G. Farmer, A History of Music in Scotland, pp. 162-3.

Wood began his collection of psalm-tune settings in 1562.⁴ Some of the compositions are dated. Andrew Kemp's setting of 'Veni Creator' was composed in December 1566 and his setting of the 'Song of Ambrose and Augustine' on 8 January 1567.⁵

The manuscripts contain the following Reformation Scottish Church music:-

109 settings of metrical psalm tunes (of which 83 are mostly complete);

19 canticles and spiritual songs -

The Song of the three children	}	John Angus
The Song of Zachary		
The Song of the Blessed Virgin		
The Song of Simeon [1]		
The Song of Simeon [2]		
The Creed of Athanasius		
The Ten Commandments		
The Ten Commandments Otherways		
The XII Articles of our belief		
Da Pacem Domine		

The Lord's Prayer [1]	}	Andrew Kemp
Veni Creator		
The Song of Ambrose and Augustine	}	Andrew Kemp
The Song of Ambrose [Te Deum]		
The humble suit of a sinner	-	Andrew Black-
The Lamentation of a sinner		hall
The Lord's Prayer [2]		?
		?

4. 'Tribbill' part-book (first set) p.177.

5. see also p. 171 of this thesis.

The Complaint of a sinner - ascribed to Kemp in the 'Tribbill' /Altus/ and /Bassus/ part-books of the first set; and to Angus in the /Cantus/ part-book of the second set.

A Prayer

- ascribed to Angus in the /Cantus/ part-book, second set; and to Blackhall in the /Bassus/ part-books of both sets

4 anthems -

Blessed art thou
Judge and revenge
Of mercy and of
judgement
Have mercy God

Andrew Blackhall

Andrew Kemp

The Art of Mvsic collectit ovt of all Ancient Doctorris of Mvsic

British Museum Add. MS. 4911. This sixteenth century manuscript includes four-part harmonizations of

/Psalm 17

/Psalm 67

/Psalm 77

/Psalm 587

fol. 70, 71, nos. 4 to 7.

and a five voice setting of

/Psalm 18 in reports/ - fol. 84^R no. 45.⁶

6. These psalms have been identified by Dr. Elliott in his thesis The Music of Scotland 1500-1700. For further information of this MS. see ch. VI, p. 138.

Note Books of Rev. Colin Campbell

Edinburgh University Library - MS. LA. II 695/1; MS. La II 695/3. The note books, which contain common tunes of the psalms, belonged to Rev. Colin Campbell - astronomer, mathematician and divine. He was minister of Ardcattan, Argyll, in 1667. The notebooks date from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Duncan Burnett's Music Book

National Library of Scotland - MS.9447 (Panmure MS.10.) Folios 140^V to 161^R contain forty-four psalm settings by Andrew Kemp. The majority are for four voices, although psalms 37, 51 and 59 are set for three voices.

Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book⁷

National Library of Scotland - Panmure MS. 11. The manuscript, begun about 1635, contains psalmody including the 'comone tones in three parts treble tenor and counter'⁸ and conclusions for psalms of six and eight-line syllables. Edwards was minister of Murroes Parish Church in Fife.

Lady Anne Ker's Music Book

National Library of Scotland - MS.5448. The tenor and bass parts of seventeen common tunes of the psalms are included in this music book.

Alexander MacAlman's Music Book (or Edward Millar's Music Book)

National Library of Scotland - MS. 9477.

-
7. I am indebted to Dr. K. Elliott for information regarding this and the following five MSS. Dr. Elliott has identified and discussed these MSS. in his thesis op. cit. I have added nothing new.
 8. fol. 62^V.
 9. fol. 78^V.

The manuscript contains four-part settings of fifteen common tunes and the proper tunes of the psalms. The harmonies are mainly the same as those in the printed Scottish Psalter of 1635. A note at the end of the proper tune for psalm 149 reads: 'E. Millar 11 aprile 1643'.

David Melvill's Bassus Part-Book

British Museum - Add. MS. 36484. This part-book was compiled in 1604 by David Melville, printer in Aberdeen. Folio 17, recto and verso, records the bass part of Blackhall's anthem 'Of Mercy and of Judgement'.

Rowallan Cantus Part-Book

Edinburgh University Library - MS. La III 488. This manuscript dates c. 1626 - 37 and belonged to Sir William Mure of Rowallan (1594 - 1657). It includes the cantus parts of: twelve common tunes, a selection of proper tunes and psalms 6, 51 and 67 'with reportis'.

William Stirling's Cantus Part-Book

National Library of Scotland - Adv. MS. 5. 2. 14. The manuscript dates c. 1639. Folios 32 to 42^V contain the cantus parts of psalms.

(B) Printed Sources

These are entirely editions of the Scottish metrical Psalter which were printed in 1564, 1565, 1566, 1571, 1575, 1587, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1602, 1611, c.1612, 1615 (two editions), 1625, 1629, 1633, 1634, 1635 and 1640.¹⁰

10. Full bibliographical details are given in W. Cowan, op. cit.

Those of particular musical significance are:

1564 and 1565 Psalters

1564 - Corpus Christi College, Oxford - Q B.1.1.

1565 - National Library of Scotland - H. 29. d. 5c.

These were the first editions of the Book of Common Order combined with the complete metrical psalm book to be officially authorised by the Reformed Church of Scotland. They were printed in Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik. The one hundred and fifty psalm texts in metre were set to one hundred and five tunes.

1615 Psalter (second edition)

British Museum - C.65 K.6. Two editions were printed in 1615 by Andrew Hart of Edinburgh. The second edition was the first Scottish psalter to contain common tunes as well as one hundred and six proper tunes.¹¹ The twelve common tunes were:

Abbey (New)

Dundee¹² (Daman's Psalter, 1591, set to Ps. 116.)

Dunfermline (New)

Dukes (New)

English (Este's Psalter, 1592, set to Ps.4.)

11. Metrical psalm tunes are classified as being either 'proper' or 'common'. Proper tunes are those set to particular psalm texts and named after the psalms to which they belong (e.g. Old 100th, Old 124th). The common tunes are of later date and are those sung 'ad libitum' to any psalm whose metre will fit. Most common tunes have place names (e.g. Dunfermline, Glasgow). Common tunes first appeared in print in Thomas Este's English Psalter, 1592.

12. Called 'Windsor' or 'Eton' in Ravenscroft's Psalter, 1621.

French¹³ (New)

Glasgow (New)

Kings (New)

London (Daman's Psalter, 1579, set to Ps. 23)

Martyrs (New)

Old Common (Scottish Psalter, 1564-5, set to Ps. 108)

Stilt (New)

1625 Psalter

National Library of Scotland - F.6.b.1. This was the earliest printed Scottish psalter with harmonised tunes:

Here follow the Common Tunes in foure parts, in more perfect forme than wer hear-to-fore: together with the Tunes to the whole Psalmes, diligently revised and amended. By the most expert Musicians in Aberdene.

Aberdeen musicians at this time included: Patrick Davidson, Patrick Walker, Andrew Melville of St. Nicholas Kirk: and James Sanders, Patrick Walter, William Watson and Gilbert Ross of St. Machar's. The edition, printed by Edward Raban of Aberdeen for David Melvill, included three 'conclusions' and three new tunes - Elgin, Montrose and Bon-Accord.

1633 Psalter

National Library of Scotland - cwn. 465. The psalter was printed in Aberdeen by Edward Raban for David Melvill. The first part of this book has 'Knox's Liturgy' and fifteen four-part common tunes 'diligently revised and

13. Named 'Dundee' (not to be confused with 'Dundee' tune mentioned above) in Ravenscroft's Psalter, 1621.

amended'. The second part contains the psalter with music. The prose translation of the psalms authorised by James VI in 1610 is in the margins. There are three 'conclusions' and seven pages of special prayers.

1635 Psalter

National Library of Scotland - F.7.f.28. This psalter was printed in Edinburgh by the heirs of Andrew Hart. The title page reads:

The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter,
with their whole Tunes in foure or mo
parts, and some Psalmes in Reports ...

The musical editor was Edward Millar,¹⁴ choirmaster of the Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse. According to Millar's 'Preface to the Gentle Reader'¹⁵ the harmonies were set by 'the primest Musicians that ever this Kingdom had, as Deane John Angus, Blackhall; Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan and others'. Additions were made to the number of common tunes as follows:

Gaithness

Cheshire

Couper

Culross

Dunbar

Durham

Galloway

Glaston

Glenluce

Inverness

Irving

Newton

Wigton

Winchester

14. ch. Iv, p.100.

15. Appendix III, pp.221 ff.

The one hundred and forty-three settings were made up of one hundred and four proper tunes, thirty-one common tunes and eight psalms in reports.

Metrical Psalm Texts

Versifications of the psalms in the Scottish psalters 1564-1635 were made by: Thomas Sternhold (d.1549); John Hopkins (d.1570); John Markant; Thomas Norton (1532-83); William Kethe (d.1593). Scots exile in Geneva; William Whittingham (c.1524-79), English exile in Geneva and later Dean of Durham; John Pullain, an English exile in Geneva who later became Archdeacon of Colchester; Robert Pont, Scots member of the first General Assembly; and John Craig (1512-1600), one time minister of the King's household in Scotland.

The Scottish Psalter versifications use a wider variety of metres than the contemporary English version of Sternhold and Hopkins:

English Psalter, Sternhold and Hopkins -

- 134 psalms in common metre or double common meter.
- 5 psalms in short metre
- 3 psalms in long metre
- 14 psalms in various metres of Genevan origin.

Scottish Psalter, 1564/5 -

- 99 psalms in common metre or double common meter.
- 5 psalms in short metre
- 11 psalms in long metre
- 35 psalms in various metres of Genevan origin (27 different metres) 16

16. The texts of the various editions of the Scottish Psalter are compared in The Story of the Scottish Metrical Psalter by Rev. W.P. Rorison, unpublished dissertation, New College Library, Edinburgh, 1909.

On 14 June 1631, Charles I formally requested the Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland to use the new King James metrical version of the psalter in schools, and to have it sung in all churches in Scotland in preference to the old version.¹⁷ In general the book was not well received and Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalms were published in 1631. It was stated that:

Both pastors and people be long custome ar so acquainted with the psalmes /i.e. the 'old version' and tunes thereof; that as the pastors ar able to direct psalmes to be sung agreeable to the doctrine to be deliyvered, so he that taketh vp the psalme is able to sing anie tune, and that the people for the most part to follow him.

On 1 May 1650, metrical versions based on those of Francis Rous (Rous was successively secretary to Cromwell, provost of Eton College and speaker of the House of Commons) were authorised to be the 'only paraphrase ... all others being discharged'.¹⁸ The 1650 psalter contained no music. The title page reads:

The Psalms of David in Meeter; newly translated, and diligently compared with the originall text, and former translations; More plain, smooth and agreeable to the text than any heretofore. Allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in Congregations and families.

E. Tyler. Edinburgh 1650.¹⁹

This is the version still in use.

-
17. The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters 1626-31 - General Register House, Edinburgh, MS.Pl/2. p.591; J. and W. Row, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, Maitland Club, 1842, p.144.
18. A. Peterkin (ed.) Records, Acts and Proceedings of the Kirk of Scotland, vol.I, 1638-54, pp. 475, 513, 553.
19. National Library of Scotland - cwn. 260.

The ComposersJohn Angus

- before 1560 Angus was a monk at Dunfermline Abbey.²⁰
- 1562 He accepted the gift of the vicarage of Inver-Keithing, August 1562.²¹
- 1565 Royal confirmation of this gift was granted in May 1565.²²
- 1589 Angus was presented to the vicarage of Crieff in the diocese of Dunkeld and was made a prebendary of the Chapel Royal at Stirling.²³
- 1596/ Died. After his death the living at Crieff was presented to Thomas Gray of the Chapel Royal.²⁴ Angus set metrical canticles to music.²⁵ According to Edward Millar's preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter Angus also set proper psalm tunes.²⁶

John Black

- 1556 Black taught at the Song School of St. Nicholas Aberdeen from 1556, but fled from Scotland at the Reformation (1560).
- 1570 In October 1570 he was still 'presentlie absent of the realme'²⁷ but he was back as master of the school from 1575 until 1587.²⁸
- 1575-87 He set psalm tunes.²⁹

-
20. H. Scott (ed.) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, vol.V, p.42.
21. Register of the Privy Seal xxxiii fol. 48 v. General Register House, Edinburgh.
22. H. Scott (ed.) ibid.
23. Register of the Privy Seal lx, fol. 12r.
24. Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol.III, fol.22v. General Register House, Edinburgh.
25. St. Andrew's Psalter MSS. - tenor part-book pp.166-7.
26. Appendix III. p.221.
27. Aberdeen Burgh Records, 1398-1570, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844.
28. Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis - New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1892, p.385; Aberdeen Burgh Records 4 October 1577; A.Melville op. cit. p.113.
29. Millar's preface, Appendix III, p.221.
For an example of John Black's instrumental music see his lesson on the Fiftieth Psalm printed in "Jacobean Consort Music" Musica Britannica IX, no.30. Dr. K. Elliott has included Black's composition "Lytil Blak" in "Music of Scotland 1500-1700" Musica Britannica XV, no.80. Nos.81 and 82 of the same volume are instrumental lessons upon Psalm tunes. These Dr. Elliott suggests may also be by Black.

Andrew Blackhall³⁰

- 1536 Born. Before the Reformation Blackhall was a canon of Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh. After the Reformation he became minister of -
- 1567 St. Mary's, Liberton; Ormiston (a parish nearby the Abbey lands of Holyrood);
- 1568 East Lothian;
- 1570 Cranstoun;
- 1574 In 1574 he was given the charge of St. Michael, Musselburgh (Inveresk), having charge of Newton and Cranstoun.
- 1580 As Commissioner of a Province he was accused at the Assembly of 1580 of admitting an unqualified person to be an exhorter - 'an office which the Assembly acknowledgeth not'.
- 1586 At the Assembly of 1586 Blackhall was named one of the Commissioners for trying the offences of the ministry in Lothian. He married Janet Wright. Their son, Andrew, became minister of Aberlady.
- 1589 In October 1589 James VI granted Blackhall and his son £200 towards the upkeep of a music school.³¹
When Inveresk Church was rebuilt in 1805, a large slab was built into the wall near the south porch of the church, with this inscription:
Here lyes Mr. Andrew Blackhall,
Pastor of this Church 35 years.
Who died 31 January 1609, aged 73.³²
(For a list of his compositions see pp. 150, 151, 170, 171.)

30. This information is taken from H. Scott (ed.), op. cit. vol. I, pp. 170, 309, 324.

31. Register of the Privy Seal lx, fol. 69 v; N. Livingston, op. cit. p.21.

32. Scots Musical Museum, vol. I, p. xxxiii, Pennsylvania, 1962.

John Buchan

c. 1564

Buchan set two psalm-tunes (psalms 67 and 128) for Wood's St. Andrews Psalter MSS.

1583/4

On 13 March he was presented to a prebendary Kirk of the Chapel Royal. At this time he was master of the song school of Haddington.

'Our Soverane Lord ordanis ane letter disponand to Johne Buchane, Maister of the Sang Scule of Haddington, all and haill the prebendarie of the Chapell Royall of Striveling callit the Parsonage of Dalmelington, in Kingis Kyle, with all the ruites &, vaikand be deceis of umquhile Andro Buchan, last possessour thairrof.'³³

1595

Buchan later lived in Glasgow.³⁴

Andrew Kemp

1560s

Kemp worked in the east coast towns of St. Andrews, Dundee and Aberdeen.

1570

He was master of the song school at St. Andrews.³⁵

In October 1570 he was appointed by the Aberdeen Town Council master of the song school of St. Nicholas. Kemp was to 'teiche and instruct thair youthheid and cheildreine in the ... facultay of mwseik, meaners, and wertew'.³⁶

Duncan Burnett owned a music book³⁷ which contains forty-four harmonizations of the proper tunes by Kemp himself. (For a list of other music by Kemp see p.150.)

33. Register of Presentation to Benefices, vol.II, 13 Mar.1583/4;

Scots Musical Museum vol. I, p.lxxxiii;

Register of the Privy Seal I, fol.95.

34. Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1573-1642, Glasgow, 1876-1911, p.161. (8 Feb. 1595).

35. St. Andrews Psalter Altus part-book.

36. A. Melville's Commonplace Book, p.113;

Aberdeen Burgh Records.

37. see p.152.

David Peebles

fl. 1560s

Peebles was a canon of St. Andrews Cathedral before the Reformation.³⁸ He was described by Thomas Wood as being 'ane of the cheiff musitians into this land'.³⁹ At the request of Lord James Stewart, Mary's half-brother and at the Reformation Prior of St. Andrews, Peebles set many of the psalm tunes. For an example of his pre-Reformation Latin Church music see Musica Britannica vol.XV, no. 8.

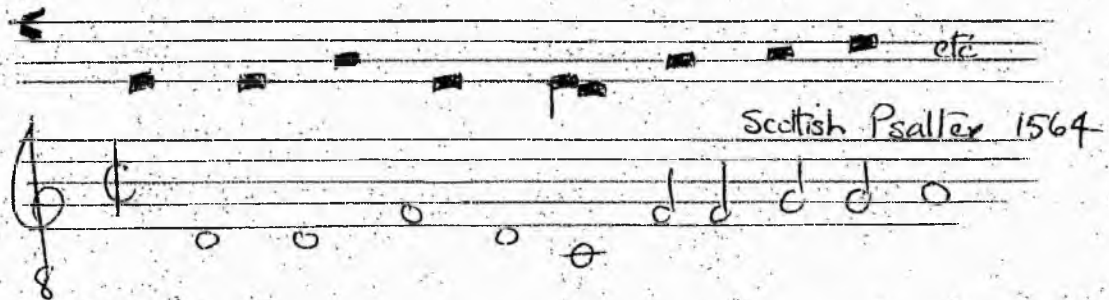
The Psalm Tunes

The music can be classified into proper psalm tunes, common psalm tunes, psalms in 'reports' and anthems.

The proper tunes are often characterised by noble, disciplined and expansive melodies.

Some may derive from plainsong - e.g.

- (1) Psalm 104 ('My soul, praise the Lord') in the Scottish Psalter, 1564, is based ^{partly} on the melody 'Iam Christus astra ascenderat'.



This French-Genevan tune is identified by Maurice Frost in English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes c.1543-1677, pp.151, 152. Frost quotes Woodward as having 'considered this tune to be based upon the plainsong melody'. Whilst the first phrase is like the plainsong, the rest of the psalm tune would seem to be too far removed from the plainsong to be based upon it.

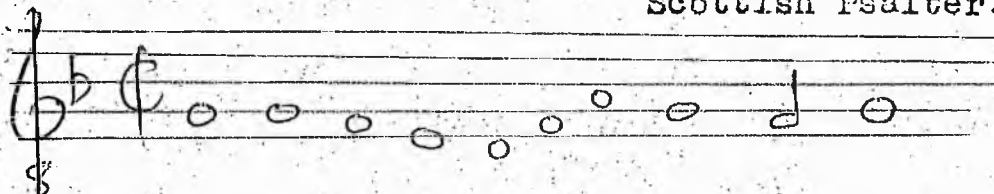
38. John Scott's Protocol Book 1564-75, fol.100, quoted in D. Hay Fleming's The Reformation in Scotland, London, 1910, App. N.

39. St. Andrews Psalter tenor part-book, p.166.

- (2) Psalm 129 ('Of Israel this may now be sung') in the Scottish Psalter, 1564, is however a close adaptation of the plainsong Epiphany hymn 'A patre unigenitus'.



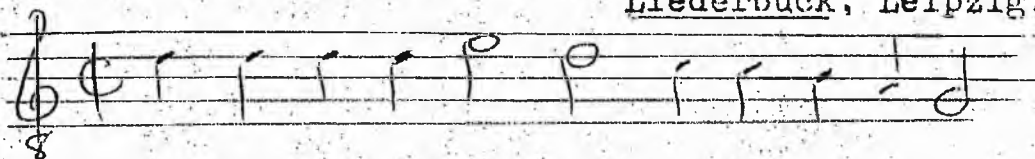
Scottish Psalter, 1564



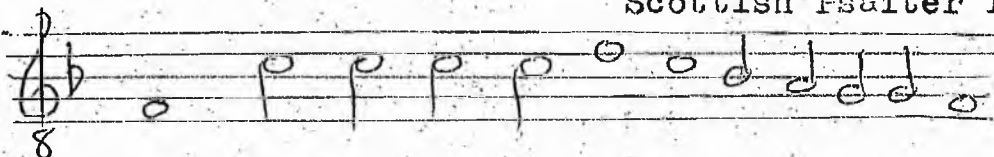
(See Frost, op. cit. pp. 179, 180.)

- (3) Psalm 143 ('O hear my prayer, Lord') in the Scottish Psalter 1564, is from a medieval German Processional.

quoted in - Franz Böhme - Altentscher Liederbuch, Leipzig, 1913.



Scottish Psalter 1564



(Frost, op. cit. pp. 200, 201.)

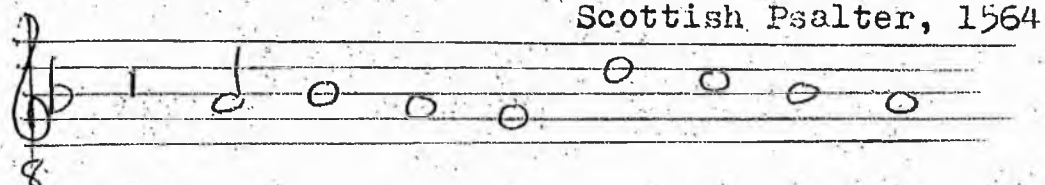
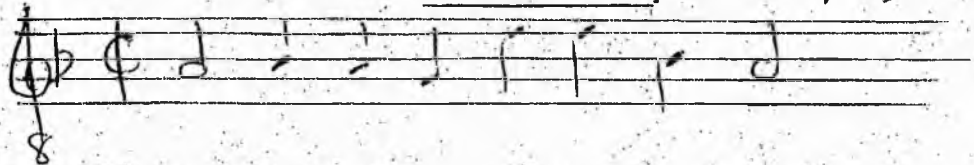
Psalm 85 in the Scottish Psalter 1564, can be traced to a secular original, 'Si la nature en sa diversité', published by Attaignant in 1530.⁴⁰

40. Hymnal (1940) Companion, New York, 1949, p.137, Hymn 192.

Some tunes are new in Scottish sources - the tunes to psalms 66, 87, 102, 116, 140 and 145 in the psalter of 1564/5; psalm 101 in the psalter of 1615; and psalm 124 in the 1635 psalter.

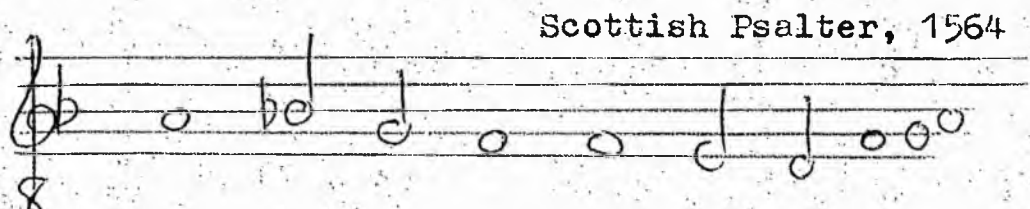
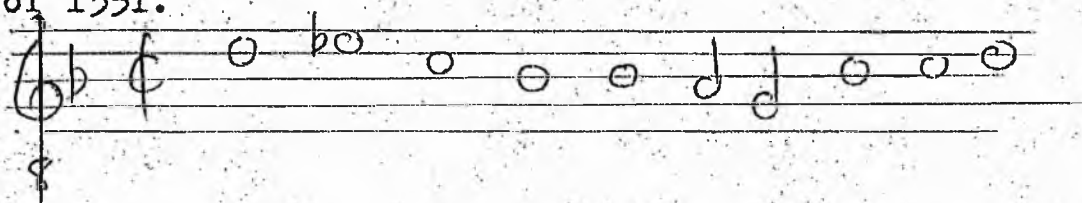
Others can be traced to various English, Genevan and Lutheran psalm books of the first half of the sixteenth century - e.g.

- (1) Psalm 76 ('In Jewry land God is well known') in the Scottish Psalter, 1564, is an adaptation of the tune set to Psalm 11 in *Enchiridion*, Erfurt, 1524.



(Frost, op. cit. p.126.)

- (2) Psalm 83 ('God for thy grace') in the Scottish Psalter, 1564, appeared in the French Genevan Psalter of 1551.



(Frost, op. cit. pp.134, 135.)

In Scotland common tunes first appeared in print in a psalter edition of 1615⁴¹ but it is probable that they were in use during the previous generation or two. The following common tunes are most likely of Scottish origin since they first appear in Scottish sources:-

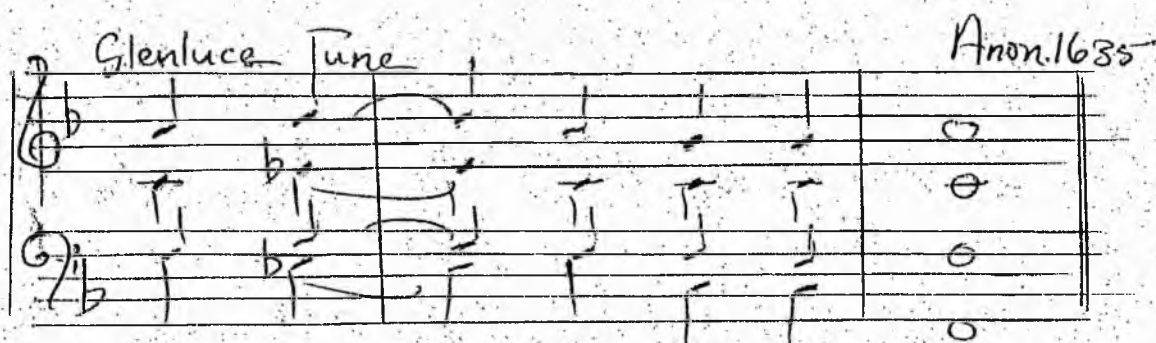
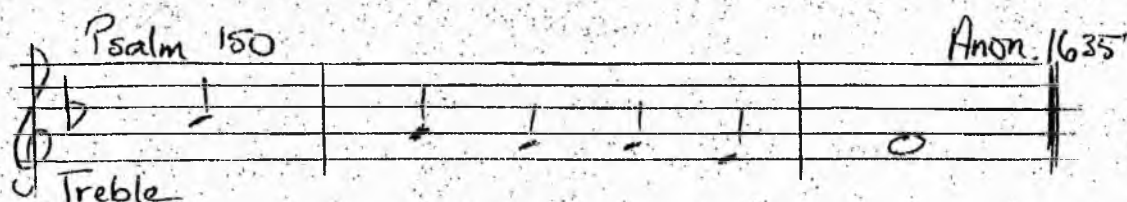
<u>Name</u>	<u>Source</u>
Old Common	Scottish Psalter, 1564.
Abbey	Scottish Psalter, 1615
Dunfermline	
Duke's	
French	
Glasgow	
King's	
London	
Martyrs	
The Stilt	Scottish Psalter, 1625
Bon Accord	
Elgin	
Montrose	Scottish Psalter, 1633
Culross	Scottish Psalter, 1634.
Galloway	

41. see p. 154

Caithness
Couper
Dunbar
Glaston
Glenluce
Inverness
Irving
Jedburgh
Melrose
Maxtown
Newton
Wigton

Scottish Psalter, 1635⁴²

The common tunes, although short and effective, are composed largely from stock melodic phrases and (where harmonized) harmonic clichés.



Magnificat # John Angus

Psalms 120 in reports (1) Anon

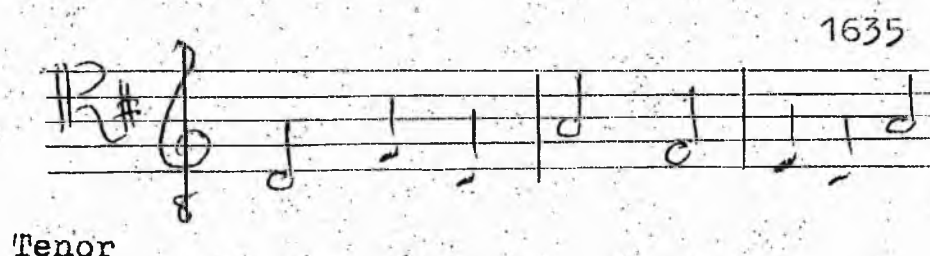
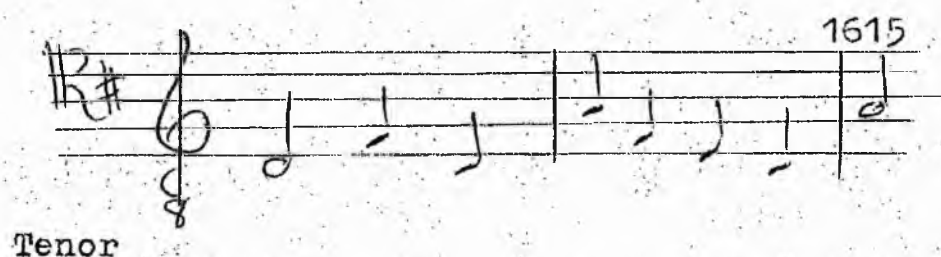
Winchester Tune Anon

There are over 200 Scottish settings and harmonizations of psalm tunes. The harmonizations, which are often anonymous, are, on the whole, comparable with those of the contemporary English psalters.⁴³ Textures vary from Andrew Kemp's contrapuntally flowing and singable 3-voice setting of psalm 37⁴⁴ to the richness of the anonymous 5-voice setting of 'Dunfermline' and psalm 62.⁴⁵

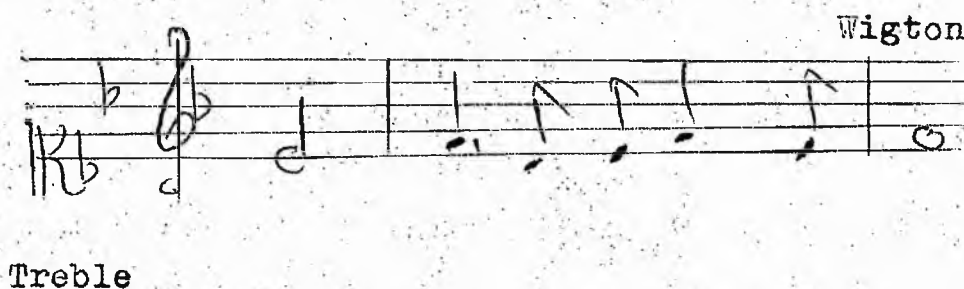
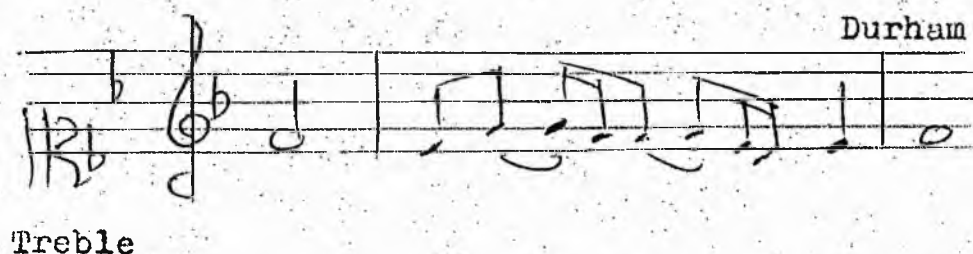
-
43. Compare e.g. harmonizations by Alison, Bennt, Milton, Peirson, Ravenscroft, Tomkins and Ward - in 'Ravenscroft's Whole Book of Psalmes, London, 1621 - with the harmonizations in the Scottish Psalter, 1625.
44. Vol. II no. 26.
45. Vol. II nos. 50 and 33.


The St. Andrews Psalter MSS contain the first collection of harmonized tunes; the Scottish Psalter, 1625, contains the first printed harmonizations. The Scottish settings are often characterised by -

1. Rather rugged but colourful and strong harmony.
2. Dynamic rhythms and variety of metres, especially in the proper tunes. Note-lengths are frequently altered from psalter to psalter. Compare, for example the first line of 'Martyrs' as found in its original form (1615 psalter) with the version in the 1635 psalter:

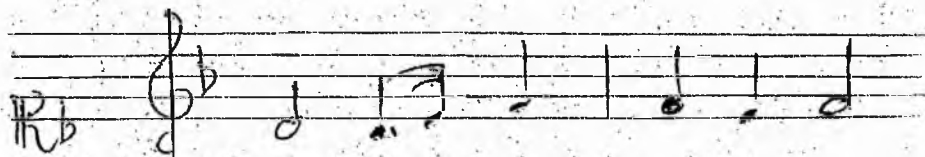


Rhythmic embellishment of the treble in final phrases is a feature of a number of settings in the 1635 psalter - e.g. -



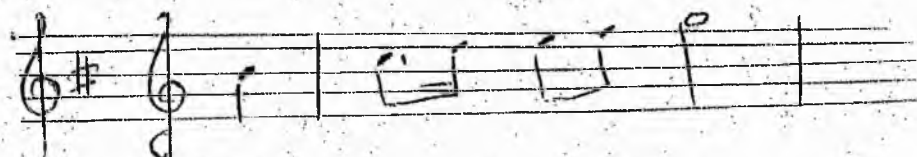
The dotted rhythm  is more common in the 1635 psalter than in other Scottish psalters - e.g. -

Ps. 6



Treble

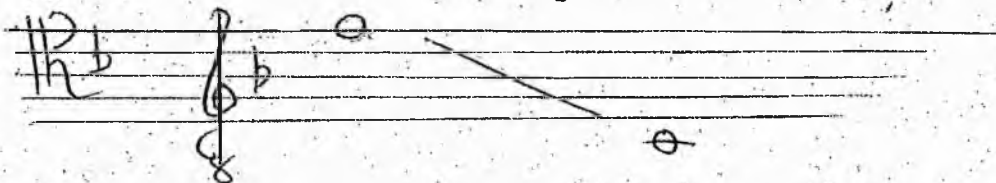
Ps. 8



Treble

3. Effective use of the 'nota cambiata'.⁴⁶
4. A generally strict adherence to the syllabic rule in the underlay of verbal texts.
5. The frequent occurrence of wide gaps between treble and alto parts.⁴⁷

In the 1635 psalter setting of 'Dunfermline',⁴⁸ the compass of the quintus part is admirably suited to the range of the counter-tenor voice - as are the contra parts of psalms 6 and 137 in 'reports'.⁴⁹ The compass of the contra part in psalm 137 in 'reports' is:



The wide vocal range required of this voice is typical of

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46. e.g. Psalms 15 and 145 in the 1635 psalter. See Vol. II, pp. 77, bar 5; 128, bar 5.
 47. e.g. Psalms 5 (Kemp) and 8 (1635). See vol. II, pp. 71, 75.
 48. Vol. II, p. 149.
 49. Vol. II, pp. 41 and 66.

church music of this period.⁵⁰

The eight Psalms in Reports⁵¹ from the Scottish psalter, 1635, are all anonymous in the psalter.

Psalms 6	}	
12	}	settings for four voices.
Psalms 18	-	for five voices. Dr. K. Elliott has suggested Andrew Blackhall as composer. ⁵²
Psalms 21	-	for four voices.
Psalms 113	-	for four voices - is a setting by Claude Goudimel.
Psalms 116)		
120)		settings for four voices.
Psalms 137	-	for four voices - attributed to Andrew Blackhall in the 'Rowallan Cantus Part Book'.

No words are underlaid. Psalms 12 and 21 are short compositions, each with an imitative point, very much in the English tradition of the Edwardian and early Elizabethan composers of short anthems.⁵³ Psalm 116 appears to be of slightly later date stylistically; psalm 120 is harmonically conceived. Again these are short, simple and effective settings, but of no outstanding quality. Psalms 6, 18 and 137 are settings of considerable character, psalm 18 in particular being richly contrapuntal in texture.

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50. Witness, for example, the alto parts in William Byrd's 'Great' service; B. Rose, 'The Interpretation of 16th Century Church Music', in English Church Music R.S.C.M. 1965, pp.27,36.
51. Vol. II, nos. 10-17. The Harvard Dictionary of Music, London 1964; 'Reports, A 17th century English term for points of imitation or, at least, for some sort of contrapuntal treatment.' Psalms 6 and 18 in Reports are included in Musica Britannica XV, pp.136 and 134 respectively. Psalms 18 and 137 in Reports appear in Fourteen Psalm-Settings, ed. K. Elliott, O.U.P. 1960 pp. 6 and 22 respectively.
52. K. Elliott, Scottish Music of the Early Reformed Church p.26.
53. Compare e.g. Christopher Tye's Actes of the Apostles, London, 1553. (British Museum K.4.a.4.g.)

There is no evidence of original Scottish contributions to the prayer-book service repertoire (i.e. preces, festal psalms, service settings), but there are four anthems equally suited for performance in church or home. Andrew Kemp's 'Have mercy, God', which exists in incomplete parts,⁵⁴ is a work imitative and expressive, if somewhat provincial in style: a cry for mercy. This composition lacks formal disciplined organization. Maybe the composer was experimenting with expressive effects of dissonance, for although the music is wayward it is also strangely expressive when sung. By contrast, the composer's setting of the 'Te Deum' is plainly chordal.⁵⁵

There are three extant anthems by Andrew Blackhall. 'Of mercy and of judgement', dedicated to the infant King James VI in 1569, is a finely wrought, large-scale piece for five voices. It is in two sections. Blackhall is perhaps not a composer of the first rank, but writes music that is earnest and competent. In this anthem he seems to attach more importance to clear comprehension of the words than to strictly musical elaboration. The imitative interplay between voices and carefully prepared dissonances are notable characteristics of the style. 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord' is based on the 'miserere' plainsong and was composed 'at the earnest sute of Lord Morton, quho presentit the samin /to/ Kyng Jamis' in February 1578.⁵⁶ 'Blessed art thou that fearest God' was composed in 1575 for the marriage of the Earl of Mar.⁵⁷ Whilst these anthems may lack the expressiveness of a Tallis or a Byrd, they are nevertheless very singable, consistently imitative, and the work of a craftsman.

54. Vol. II, pp. 17 ff.

55. Musica Britannica XV, No.12.

56. K. Elliott, op. cit. p.21; and H.M. Shire Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI, Cambridge, 1969, p.70 - gives details of background.

57. Musica Britannica XV, No.10.

VIII

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND MUSICO -- LITURGIC
PROBLEMSPsalmody among the people

Metrical psalmody in the vernacular became a sword and dagger of the Reformed faith. For the common folk it was a new, vital and effective means of expressing their faith through music. Indeed, metrical psalmody was congregational song 'par excellence' and it penetrated deeply into every stratum of Scottish national life. John Knox himself was well schooled in psalmody:

For ilk day he red a certane chapteris, both
the auld Testament and new, with certane psalmes,
quhilk psalmes he passed through everie moneth
once¹

The first edition of the Scottish Psalter (1564) included a sonnet written by William Stewart. The poet recommended metrical psalmody to his readers as a Reformation gift:

Thou little Church, to whom Christ hath restorde
The cleare lost light of His Evangel pure:
Thy God doth with all diligence procure
That with His Worde, thou maist be still decorde.
Thogh thou have long His wholesome trueth abhorde
Yet His great mercies did they blindness cure,
Submitting thee unto the careful cure
Of suche pastours, as truely teache His Worde.
Out of whose hands (with great thanks) now receive
All David's Psalmes set foorth in pleasant verse:
A greater gift of them thou couldst not crave,
Whose endless frute my pen cannot rehearse
For here thou hast, for everie accident,²
That may occure; a doctrine pertinent.

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1. R. Bannatyne, Journal of the Transactions in Scotland 1570-73, Edinburgh, 1806, p.414 (13 November 1572).
 2. D. Laing, Knox, vol. VI, p.334.

The Scots certainly made full use of this gift, for they often memorized selected psalms or verses of psalms. Thus James Melvill in his Diary³ (1570) related that Thomas Anderson, minister of Montrose, had the psalms 'almost all by hart, in prose'. Two years later Melvill noted that the primarius of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, 'causit sing comounlie the 44 and 79 Psalmes, quilk I learnit "par ceur"'.⁴ Sir Robert Ker of Ancrum (1578-1654), scholar and courtier, found in mankind's ability to sing the psalms to a common tune an instance of the 'great providence of God', who 'from the curse which Hee inflicted on mankynd at Babell could draw this blessing that His Church with one hart and voice, might praise Him, howsoever they differed in speech'.⁵ James Melvill wrote in 1570 that:

the Lard of Done ... of his charitie interteined a blind man, wha had a singular guid voice: him he causit the doctor of our scholl in Montrose teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thair of, and sing them in the Kirk; be heiring of whome I was sa delytet, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thair of in miter.⁶

In 1639 the churchman Robert Baillie wrote to his cousin William Spang of the singing of the Covenanters in the vicinity of the castle of Dunc:

Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms - ye would have been refreshed.⁷

3. p.22.

4. J. Melvill, Diary, p.27; Psalm 44 began, 'Our ears have heard our fathers tell ...'. Psalm 79 began 'O Lord the Gentiles do invade thine heritage to spoil'.

5. D. Anderson, The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature, London, 1936, p.199, (1624).

6. J. Melvill, op. cit. p.22.

7. R. Baillie, Letters, p.214.

Religious music in the home

As psalmody was freely permitted and encouraged by church and civil authorities, it became a favourite form of domestic recreation among the people.⁸ Thomas Wood intended the psalm settings, canticles, anthems and religious songs of his St. Andrews Psalter MSS. to be:

meit and apt for musitians, to recreat thair spirrities, when as thay shall be ouercum with hevines or any kynd of sadnes, not only musitians But also evin to the ignorant of a gentle nature hearing shall be confortd and be mirry with uss.⁹

Psalm tunes and settings mingle with other music and manuscripts of the period. The following are examples:

Duncan Burnett's music book
Colin Campbell's note books
Robert Edward's commonplace book
Lady Anne Ker's music book
Alexander MacAlman's music book
David Melvill's bassus part-book
Sir William Mure of Rowallan's Cantus part-book
William Stirling's cantus part-book.¹⁰

From time to time, civil and ecclesiastical authorities took measures to ensure that psalm books were brought by all who could afford them.¹¹ On 14 October 1604 the Kirk session of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, ordained:

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8. see, for example, Lord Wariston's Diary, p.84.
 9. Quintus part-book, note written in 1569.
 10. These MSS are discussed in ch. VII, pp. 148-153.
 11. Acts of Parliaments of Scotland vol. II, p.139. 'That househarldaris have bybillis and psalme buikis.' (10 November 1577); Enforcements of the Act of Parliament: Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. III, 1578-85, pp.266 (13 February 1579/80) and 484 (1582). Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, Edinburgh, 1843, p.192. (10 August 1648).

that all men and women in this burgh quha
can reid, and ar of famous reports and
habilitie, sall hawe bybles and psalme
buiques of thair awin, and sall bring the
same with thame to thair parochie Kirkis,
thairon to reid and prais God, conforme
to the actis of parliament maid thairanent.¹²

Psalmody in pageantry

Psalm singing seems to have been common on occasions of pomp and ceremony. There is no doubt that this practice contributed much to the establishing of Protestantism,¹³ but in the 1560s the Roman Catholics seem to have approved as well. According to the contemporary historian, David Calderwood, Mary Queen of Scots enjoyed the music of metrical psalmody:

Some honest citicens went /on the Queen's return to Holyrood, 1561/7, accompanied with some musicians, and saluted her at her chamber window with musicke. She was so well pleased with the melodie, as she alledged, that she willed the same to be continued some nights after.¹⁴

On this occasion the 'honest citicens' included the provost and baillies of Edinburgh, since an item in the Baillies Accounts and Treasurer's Accounts¹⁵ notes:

12. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1846, p. 16.

13. cf. England. Bishop Jewel wrote to Peter Marytr in March 1560:

You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoyes the mass-priests, and the devil. - The Zurich Letters 1558-79, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1842, vol. I, p.71.

14. D. Calderwood, History, vol. II, p.12.

15. vol. I, 1544-67, Edinburgh, 1899, p.345 (1561).

for ane dosoun torches that geid affor the
 provest, baillies and toun quhen thai geid
 to the Abbay to sing the psalmis to the
 Quenis Grace - xxiiij^s. /E1-4-Od.7

This was something not exactly new for the Queen. She had been surrounded by French metrical psalmody at the Catholic court in Paris during her sojourn there.¹⁶

An interesting case of the use of psalmody occurred on 23 August 1567, when James, Earl of Moray, was appointed Regent. As part of his oath he was required to lay his hand on the Bible with inclination of his body, and then sing the 72nd psalm - 'Lord, give thy judgements to the King, therein instruct him well'.¹⁷

On the occasion of the formal entry into Edinburgh of King James I, on Friday 17 October 1579 - 'At the service in the Great Kirk of St. Giles after sermon was sung the xx Psalme'.¹⁸

On 4 September 1582 John Durie, a popular Edinburgh minister, returned to his 'awin flock of Edinbruche' after temporary banishment. David Calderwood says that the whole town gathered to meet him at the Netherbow Port, and:

goeing upe the streit, with bear heads and
 loud voices, sang to the praise of God and
 testifeing of grait joy and consolation the
 124th Ps. Now Israel may say and that
 trewlie etc. till heaven and erthe resoundit.¹⁹

This would seem to show not only their attachment to their minister but also their delight in psalmody.

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- 16. The story had been told by R.E. Prothero (Lord Ernle). Psalms in Human Life, London, 1903, ch.7.
 - 17. Throk Morton to Queen Elizabeth I - Calendar of Scottish Papers 1547-1603, Edinburgh, 1900, vol. II, p.387.
 - 18. D. Calderwood, History, vol. III, pp. 458-9.
 - 19. D. Calderwood, op. cit. vol. VIII, p.226; Dictionary of National Biography, under 'John Durie', vol.XVI, p.261.

It appears to have been a common practice of the magistrates and citizens of Aberdeen during the seventeenth century, to parade the streets, singing psalms, on all occasions of public rejoicing. They did so, for example, on the King's deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy (5 August 1601),²⁰ on the King's deliverance from the Gun-power plot (1605)²¹ and for the Queen's delivery of a son (4 June 1630). At this latter event the town council ordered:

all the youthes of the toune take thair muskattis and accompany thair magistratis throw the streitis of the town, in singing psalmes and praising God.²²

Thus John Forbes, the Aberdeen printer of Cantus, Songs and Fancies (1662), had just ground for describing his patrons their 'honourable wisdoms the Lord Provost, Bailies, and Town Council' as being 'a harmonious heavenly consort of as many musicians as magistrates'.

The ordering of music in the Church service

It was customary for the congregation to entertain the time before the entry of the minister with psalm-singing. Bishop William Cowper (fl. early 1600s) explained:

These are the three exercises which are used in all our congregations, every Sabbath, one houre before the preacher come in; first prayer, then Psalmes, then the reading of the holy Scripture; and by these, the hearts of the people are prepared the more reverently to heare the Word, and you see all is done with great quietnesse, devotion and reverence ... You heare the third bell ringing, and in this space the reading ceaseth, and at the end of the bell ringing the

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- 20. N. Livingston, The Scottish Psalter of 1635, p.21.
 - 21. ibid., p.22.
 - 22. Council Register, vol. LI, p.542.

preacher will come. ... Everyone is preparing as you see, their psalm books, that all of the with one heart and mouth may sing unto the Lord. There is the psalm which the reader hath proclaimed. If you please you can sing with them; or if you cannot, follow them in your heart.²³

In some places psalms were sung at the end of divine service. In Aberdeen it was considered that praising God by singing psalms was 'most laudable at all tymes and occasiounes, and especiallie eftir publict prayeris both evening and morning everie day as befoir and eftir sermones'.²⁴

It can be gathered from existing accounts of church services that four or five psalmes, or portions of psalmes, was the average number used at each service. Lord Wariston in his Diary²⁵ mentioned that the congregation at a particular service in Liberton Kirk sang the '28, 29, 30, 31 Ps.' It is likely that only selected verses of the metrical psalms were sung, unless the psalm chosen was a short one. To attempt more than about eight verses at a time would result in tediousness and would be very time-consuming.

The German Lupold von Wedel wrote an instructive and entertaining account of a journey that he made in England and Scotland in 1584-5. In September 1585 he was present at a Scottish church service at Leven, where ten psalms were sung:

After their departure they /two Scottish gentlemen of the King's court/ returned once more, saying that next Sunday being the 20th, the King would go to church where we /Lupold von Wedel and his companion, Ewald von der Goltz/ might see him at our leisure. This indeed we did and had a seat shown us nearly opposite th the King and not very distant from his chair. When we entered,

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23. William Cowper, Works, 1626, p.680; and Seven Days Conference.
 24. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-42, p.198, (15 January 1640).
 25. p.165. (1630s).

the church was already filled with people wishing to hear the sermon, but it lasted more than an hour before the King came, and there was no singing nor anything else, the assembly remaining in entire silence. When the King came with all his courtiers he seated himself in a very common chair that showed no ornament what ever except a velvet carpet and cushion, to lean upon. Close by him stood his cousin, called Stuwertt, a young, not yet grown up gentleman, behind them the servants. Now they sang about five psalms, for here as well as in England Zwinglian ceremonies are in use. This done the Bishop of Andree /St. Andrews/ mounted the pulpit and delivered the sermon. He is a gentleman and rich bishop, for there are sixteen stately sees in Scotland. He had a long red taffety coat on. When the sermon was finished, they again sung five psalms, the King left the church, mounted his horse, and rode home. His suite consisted of twenty men on horseback and fifty archers, as we were told, but they did not appear to be so numerous. The King's name is Jacobus Stuwertt, the latter being his family name. He is a fine gentleman, twenty years old as they say, of a smooth appearance, having no beard. He was nicely dressed after Italian fashion in a red coat. His hat, or hat-ribbon, was decorated with a brilliant diamond cross. The court does not show much royal splendour.²⁶

A Scottish Liturgy of the reign of James VI²⁷ (c.1616-7) gives information on the method recommended for proclaiming the psalms in the services. This draft-liturgy was not officially authorised for use generally, but would have been used experimentally in a number of Kirks. After the prayer of confession the reader read the eighty-fourth psalm:

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26. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, vol. IX, London, 1895, p.244.
27. edited by G. Donaldson, Miscellany X, Scottish Historical Society, 1965, 4th series, vol.II, pp. 94-7.

The psalme being red, let him proclaime it to be sung at two several tymes. And after that the first part theirow is sung, let him proceede with this prayer ... After this prayer, let the reader proclaime to be sung the second part of the 84 psalme. Let the reader proclaime the psalme in this manner: Sing unto the Lord a new song, let his praise be heard in the congregation of saints. Psalm 149.1. Praise God by singing the 84 psalme at the beginning. This to be observed everie tyme he proclames a psalme ...

After a confession of sinnes before Sermon ... let the reader proclaim some part of a psalme, convenient for the Sabbath. ... After sermon - Then let be sung the first two verses of the 106 psalme, contening a thanksgiving for the Sabbath.

The custom of reading the line seems to have been introduced into Scottish churches at the same time as the 1645 Directory of Public Worship. The practice was occasioned by the fact that many of the congregation were illiterate. The people were helped by each line of the psalm being read or sung in a monotone (or in some other way) by the precentor before it was sung by all. The appalling musical effect resulting from such a scheme is obvious! There was some debate over the matter of 'reading the line' at the Westminster Assembly in 1644. Lightfoot recorded in his Journal:

Then was our Directory read over to the Scots Commissioners, who were absent at the passing of it; and Mr. Henderson disliked our permission of any to read the psalm line by line, and this business held us in some debate.²⁸

The strong English Puritan regime was in favour of the idea, and its practice was encouraged. The Directory of Public Worship, accepted as the official service book

28. Journal of the Westminster Assembly, London, 1823, vol. XIII.

of the Church of Scotland in 1645, stated:

... where many in the congregation cannot reade, it is convenient that the minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the other Ruling Officers do reade the Psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

The method of reading over as much of the metrical psalm as was intended to be sung at once may have been used in Scotland prior to 1645. How widespread the practice was is difficult to say. By this method:

melody and harmony followed without interruption, and people did either learn to read or get most of the psalms by heart.²⁹

A pamphlet of about 1570, concerning 'The forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois' includes a funeral hymn. This is somewhat surprising since the First Book of Discipline, 1560, expressly stated that the burial service was to be held 'without either singing or reading'. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that the funeral hymn noted in the Montrose pamphlet is a homely equivalent of Thomas of Celano's 'Dies Irae':

Oure Border lat ws put in graiff,
And no dout thair of lat ws haiff
Bot he sall ryis at Domisday,
And sall immortall leve for ay.
He is bot earth and of earth maid,
And man returne to earth thruch deid;
Sall ryis syne fra the earth and ground,
Quhen that the last trumpet sall sound.³⁰

This song was included in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis.³¹

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29. Steuart of Purdivan's Collections, Bk. II, l. cap. 26; Not until 1746 did the General Assembly recommend the ancient method of singing without reading the line.
30. The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1844, vol. I, pp. 298-300.
31. see ch. I, p. 30 of this thesis.

Psalmody during communion

Early in 1645 a committee was formed to examine methods 'for the keeping the greater uniformitie in the Kirk on the practise and observation of the Directory in some points of Public Worship'.. On 7 February 1645 the committee expressed the desire:

That while the tables /at the communion service/ are dissolving and filling, there be alwayes singing of some portion of a Psalme, according to the custome.³²

From this reference it would seem that it had been usual for psalms to be sung during the actual distribution of the communion.

The 'Gloria Patri'

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.
Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper:
et in saecula saeculorum, Amen.³³

This ascription of praise to the Blessed Trinity must have resounded throughout Scottish churches, as indeed throughout every part of Christendom, from earliest times, being used at the conclusion of psalms and certain canticles. The Gloria Patri is known also as the 'lesser doxology' as opposed to the 'doxologia magna' (Gloria in excelsis Deo ...) ³⁴ which in its Latin form was usually set as a musical movement and found near the beginning of the sung Mass.

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32. Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, Edinburgh, 1833, p.120.
33. Probably of Jewish origin, and influenced by the Trinitarian Baptismal formula of St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. 28, v.19; cf. article in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Oxford, 1961, p.563.
34. A setting of the 'Gloria in excelsis' by the pre-Reformation Scottish composer Robert Carver, is given in Musica Britannica XV, pp.30-6; and two anonymous settings, pp. 13-16 and 60-2 respectively.

Metrical versions of the Gloria Patri had appeared in the vernacular long before the Scottish Reformation, often as a last verse of a hymn, carol or psalm. Thus in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis which can be traced back to the early 1540s³⁵ we find these four verses:

Sing thir four veirs efter euerie Psalme as followis.

O Lord that art the ready help
Of all that traistis in the /e/,
Saif and defend thy chosin flock,
that now in danger be.

And gif ze pleis to sing this Gloria Patri.

Gloir to the Father Heich abufe
Gloir to the Sone for our behufe
Gloir to the holy Spirite of lufe
In thrinfald unitie.

As is, was, ay salbe but rufe
ay thre in thie, and ane to prufe,
Quhais Godheid neuer sall remufe,
Lord God deliuer me.

O Lord that hes the hartis haill /whole/
of Princes in thy handis,
Returne thair myndis whair that thay faill
contrair to thy commandis.

It will be observed that the first and last of these verses are not glorias in the proper sense, for they omit mention of the three persons of the Trinity; both, however, would have been meaningful to folk of the Reformed persuasion during those years of religious strife. The second and third verses were probably sung one after the other, as they would then constitute a complete gloria. Here is a list of these carols, hymns, and 'vther new plesand Ballatis' from the Gude and Godlie Ballatis that end with glorias:

We wratcheit sinnaris - last verse - p.25.³⁶

35. ch.I. p.30.

36. page numbers refer to the Scottish Text Society edition, Edinburgh and London, 1897.

I come from heuin to tell - last verse - p.51.
 Onlie to God on hicht be gloir - all 4 verses - p.54.
 The Grace befoir dennar - the whole verse - p.75.
 Now lat vs sing with joy and myrth - last verse - p.77.
 Christ thow art the lycht - last verse - p.145.
 All my lufe, leif me not - last verse - p.221.

There would seem to have been no specific direction from the higher Church Courts of the Reformed religion to stipulate officially either the use or non-use of the gloria in services of public worship. But, as much was left to the judgement of individual parish ministers in matters such as this, we can assume that the gloria was sung in some Kirks but not in others. It is of particular interest to note that there is this precedent for the singing of doxology, though in our present day the practice tends to be looked upon (within the Church of Scotland and in other branches of Presbyterianism) as a distinctly 'high church' habit!

Ninian Winzet (1581-92) a Scottish Catholic priest, in his four-score and three questions (May 1562), wrote:

Of the forme, Gloir to the Father, etc., in end of euery Psalme. Qvhy vse ze /protestant preachers/ to sing with ws Catholiks at the end of euery psalme, Gloir to the father, to the Sone, and to the Haly Gaist, as it wes in, etc., sen that godly forme wes only commandit to be soung in that place be the Pape Damascus, in the rebuke of heretikis?³⁷

That the Protestants were not unduly disturbed by the fact that Winzet considered it to be basically a Roman Catholic custom, is shown by the inclusion of doxologies in certain subsequent Scottish psalters. There is a set of thirty-four metrical 'conclusions' to the psalms printed in the

37. Certain Tractates, Scottish Text Society, ed. J.K. Hewison, vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1888, p.117.

1595 psalter, published by Henry Chateris of Edinburgh. Not all were retained in later editions: the psalter of 1633, for example, contained but three:

These conclusions may be sung after any Psalme, which hath eyght syllables in the first line, and sixe in the seconde.

1. O GOD, that art the Strength, and Rocke
Of all that trust in thee;
Save and defende, Thy chosen flocke,
Which now in danger bee
 /compare the first verse from the Gude
 and Godlie Ballatis extracts given above.⁷
2. THY People, and thyne Heritage,
LORD blesse, guide, and preserve,
Increase Them, LORD, and rule Their Hearts,
That they may never swerve.
3. Glore to the FATHER, to the SONNE
And to the Holy GHOST,
As it was in the Beginning,³⁸
Is now, and aye shall last.

Again, only the last version is a true gloria. It was this last common metre version, too, which was the most popular of all, as a study of the Scottish psalters confirms. It was retained in the 1635 psalter.

Sir Archibald Johnson (lay member of the Westminster Assembly) noted in his Diary under the year 1633:

My saule, remember ... After the sermon the singing of Glory to the Fayther and to the Sone; Glory to the Holy Ghost - as it was from the beginning so nou and ay schal last ...³⁹

It is not clear to which Kirk he was referring, but it may have been Kirkcaldie or Liberton, since he was wont to attend both on occasion. This extract from Johnson's Diary would suggest that a doxology may have often been sung by the congregation as a separte item after the sermon.

38. Scottish Psalter, 1633, National Library of Scotland, cwn. 465.

39. Lord Wariston, Diary, p.50.

The prose version - 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.' was sung in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood whilst the Prayer-Book services held sway there. During the ceremonies of Charles I's Scottish coronation (1633), 'Glorie be to ye Father' came at the conclusion of the singing of the prose psalm.⁴⁰

But the days of the gloria were numbered. By the 1640s it had become the object of much criticism on the part of the more puritanically-minded Presbyterians. Yet no valid objection to its use could they produce, for both Catholic and Protestant alike acknowledged the doctrine of the Trinity. In the historical context, though, the aim of the Presbyterians was to dissociate themselves in worship from anything that seemed even remotely Popish or Prelatical, and so in 1645 the Scottish commissioners at the Westminster Assembly advised that its use be discontinued. Robert Baillie discussed the matter in a letter to his cousin, Mr. William Spang, dated 25 April 1645:

... about the Conclusion of the Psalme we /the Scottish delegates/ had no debate with them /the English Puritans/; without scruple, Independents and all sang it, so far as I know, where it was printed at the end of two or three psalmes. But in the new translation of the Psalmes /printed 1650/ resolving to keep punctuallie to the originall text, without any addition, we and they were content to omitt that whereupon we saw the Popish and Prelaticall partie did so much dote, as to put it to the end of most of their Lessons and all their psalmes.⁴¹

George Gillespie, another member of the Assembly judged likewise. He considered that although the custom was in

40. National Library of Scotland - Adv. MS. 33-2-26, cap.10.

41. The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637-1662, Edinburgh, 1841, vol. II, p.259.

former times received in the Kingdom of Scotland and was not condemned in the Directory of Public Worship (1645), yet 'it be most expedient that the practice and use be not continued ... as for greater peace and harmony'.⁴²

Church Choirs

The Reformed Church was not opposed (contrary to popular belief) to boys' choirs in the kirk. The song schools provided boy choristers to lead the congregational singing: there is clear evidence to show that choirs were often allotted certain pews in church, usually near the pulpit for their particular use. Thus, at St. Andrews, 31 October, 1599:

John Roull, as maister of the sang schole
~~/was/~~ to caus the best of his scholaris ~~/to/~~
 sitt besyid himself, about the pulpit, to
 help to sing the Psalmes on the Saboth dayis.⁴³

At Stirling, 13 February 1620:

~~/It was ordained/~~ that they mak commodious
 seattis ... meit for the maister of the sang
 school and his bairnis to sit on, for singing
 of psalmes in the tyme of the holie service
 of the Kirk.⁴⁴

At Montrose, in 1623, John Croll, song school master claimed eight boys of the grammar school to assist him in the church choir,⁴⁵ and in 1634 at Dunfermline;

42. The Works of George Gillespie, Edinburgh, 1846, vol. II, p.108.

43. St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, vol. II, 1582-1600, p.908.

44. 'Extracts from the register of the Kirk Session of the burgh of Stirling', Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. I, 1840, pp.445 f.

45. H.M. Willsher, op. cit. p.244.

a great many new seats were added to the kirk and the 'Musicians Isle' was then repaired.⁴⁶

Nor was it always boys' choirs alone that led the church singing, for in Glasgow, 7 September 1587, the Kirk Session ordained William Struthers, teacher of music, to sing in the High Kirk:

from the ringing of the first bell to the minister's coming in; and to appoint four men to sit beside him, beneath the pulpit; and, in the meantime, that the chapter be read by the reader successively to the singing.⁴⁷

The Precentor was the official in charge of the church music. He was normally referred to as the 'uptaker of the psalms',⁴⁸ or the 'raiser of the psalms'.⁴⁹ As a rule he occupied the lower desk - the 'latteron' (lectern) - of the double-decker pulpit.⁵⁰

Antiphonal chanting of prose psalms

Such psalm-singing was an integral part of the English Prayer Book services which were used at the Chapel Royal of Holyroodhouse from 1517 until 1637. On 20 April 1636 William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to James Wedderburn, Dean of the Scottish Chapel Royal, regarding the forthcoming Scottish Prayer Book. Wedderburn was reminded to have the psalms printed with a colon in the middle of every verse (as it is with ours ordinarily in the

46. Annals of Dunfermline 1069-1878, Glasgow, 1879, p.300.

47. R. Wodrow, Biographical Collections, vol.II, pp.22-3.

48. e.g. The Records of Elgin, 1908, pp. 337, 398. 401.

49. e.g. John Cant at Glasgow, 1646; see ch. VI p.131.

50. ch. VI p.124 gives further details.

English', otherwise 'it is impossible those Psalms should ever be well sung to the organ'. Laud mentioned that if this had not been done and the 'error be run into, it must be mended by a painful way, by a pen for all such books as the Chapel Royal useth'.⁵¹ The antiphonal method of chanting (i.e. the Decani side of the choir v. the Cantoris side) was used mainly during the period of Episcopalian domination. At a General Assembly in 1610, for example, psalm 133 was chanted.⁵² The Presbyterians disapproved. David Calderwood in his book The Altar of Damascus, 1621, comments:

curious singing and chanting /In cathedral churches/ serveth not for edification of the soule, but rather to hinder true devotion, and carie away the mind from heavenly meditation with a carnall and sensuall delite ... Psalmes are sung by course & side after side: some few singing, the rest of the people restrained from singing: One half sung with the hart, the other half with hart and voice.⁵³

Standards of performance

The song schools undoubtedly did much to maintain a reasonable standard of performance in church music, but outside the Chapel Royal little other than metrical psalmody was attempted. Standards declined as the seventeenth century wore on. Richard Franck wrote of the Aberdeen churches in 1658:

here you shall have such Method in their Musick, and such Order and Decorum of Sore-devotion in the Church as you will

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51. The Works of William Laud, vol. VI, pt. 2, p.457.
 52. D. Calderwood, History, vol. VII, p.99.
 53. pp. 155-6.

admire to hear, though not regulated by a Cantor or Quirister, but only be an insipid Parochial Clerk that never attempts further in the Mathematicks of Musick, than to compleat his Parishioners to sing a Psalm in tune.⁵⁴

As church authorities were more interested in congregational psalm singing than in choir music, the tendency was to use simple common metre tunes in preference to anything more elaborate. The preface to a 1646 edition of the Psalter is typical of the Presbyterian attitude:

As for the measures they are fitted to such tunes as have been found by experience to be of most generall use, for it was not thought reasonable to put any Psalm by a hard tune out of the use of any congregation.

For that were to put the losse of such a Psalm upon that congregation. True it is that in a former edition Psalms have been set forth in measures fitted for more difficult tunes, which are still to be seen: But it was objected by very good judgements, that if such difficult tunes were allowed, some man willing to make use (if not show) of his skill, might begin a Psalm in a tune wherein the congregation might be put to a losse. For they might either not follow him at all or follow him in a discord, instead of harmony. And indeed it is very suitable to charity, that those that have skill should condescend to them that have none, and not by that skill hinder edifications of the unskilful...⁵⁵

Evidently, discordant sounds were a fairly common occurrence, for Edward Millar in his preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter speaks of:

an abuse observed in all Churches, where sundrie Tribles, Bases and Counters set by

54. R. Franck, Northern Memories ... writ in the year 1658, but not till now made publick, London, 1694, British Museum 1040. d.2.

55. F. Rous, edition of the Scottish Psalter, 1646.

diverse Authors, being sung upon one, and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub each upon another, offending both Musically and rude ears, which never tasted of this art.

Tempi and dynamic markings are non-existent in the music manuscripts and printed books, but various contemporary psalter prefaces make mention of these matters. Thomas Ravenscroft in his Whole Book of Psalmes (London, 1621) stipulated that:

plaintive psalmes are to be sung softly and slowly; joyful psalms loudly and swiftly and others at a medium rate in both respects.

Other writers endorsed this view. Matthew Parker in his Psalter (c. 1560-67) says:

First ye ought to conjoyne a sad tune or song with a sad psalme, And a joyfull tune and song with a joyfull psalme, And an indifferent tune and song with a psalme which goeth indifferentlie.

Likewise, Edward Millar in the preface of the 1635 Scottish Psalter wrote of some common tunes as being 'grave' and others as being 'light fitting diverse dispositions'.⁵⁶

56. Dr. P. Le Huray in Music and the Reformation 1549-1660, ch.4, p.90f. elaborates on problems of tempi, dynamics, vocal timbre, standards of pitch and instrumental accompaniment.

IX

CONCLUSION

A study of Scottish church music 1560 - 1645 demonstrates the vigorous influence that the protestant Reformation exercised upon the art. Until the second half of the sixteenth century the performance of church music in Scotland was a matter of considerable importance. Such music functioned as an adornment of liturgical services and, from the reign of James III, as an added splendour of the royal court. In spite of Scotland's geographical remoteness from sources of European musical culture, the performance of plainsong and polyphony (continental, English and Scottish) was widespread within the realm. Such music required for its proper performance well-trained choristers - men and boys. It was precisely the Reformation bias against elaborate Latin church music (much of it highly intricate) that spelt its doom.

The Reformation in Scotland affected a fundamental change in church theology, doctrine, discipline and worship. The prevailing climate of opinion, stemming from the French-Genevan Calvinists and brought to Scotland by John Knox and his associates, did not favour or encourage a continuation of 'musik fyne' in church polyphony. Such a policy created a serious disruption of natural musical growth and may fairly be regarded as an underlying cause of subsequent long-term detrimental effects on Scottish church music. The Reformed Kirk had no place in its Book of Common Order 1564/5 for music other than metrical psalmody. Musicians had justification for fearing that part-music might soon disappear from the land 'allutterlie'.¹

1. Thomas Wood in the St. Andrews Psalter MSS.

Those Scottish presbyterians who gave little encouragement to choir or organ music had their reasons for preferring congregational participation in church music. Sir William Mure in 'True Crucifixe for True Catholicks' (1629) wrote:

... But you, (poore soules) beare not alone the blame,
In others chiefly lyes the fault, the shame,
Dumbe Doctors ceassing when for ease to preache,
Or would not, or els could no people teach,
Least men by vse should loath, at length despise
Their often-mumbled matins, did devise
Gyses to gaze on, shoves men's soules to feed,
An vncouth language for their dayly bread;
To charme the Eare did mixe a sweet concent
Of melodie, by voice, by instrument,
With choise divisions of an hundreth kinds,
About to moue, and melt the hardest minds;

... Let civile Images, for civile vse
Haue place, we challenge only the abuse,
That paynter's Pencil pleasure doe impart
We hinder no, let craftsmen vse their arte:
But howsoever humane wit debord,
GOD in Religion must alone bee LORD.²

The Book of Common Order services were musically and aesthetically austere. The resultant lack of incentive for composers and performers, the unstable and variable incomes for choirs and leaders of church music and the constant religious strife of the period did little to aid the cause of church music. It was not that the Calvinists condemned church music outright: they provided a corpus of congregational song in the form of metrical psalmody. There is

2. W. Mure's Poetical Works, ed. William Tough, Scottish Text Society, 1897-8, vol. I, pp. 217, 235.

no doubt that the democratic concept of congregational participation in a vernacular psalmody was an important vital and successful means of aiding the Reformation cause.

In the composition and performance of psalmody the Scots added their noteworthy contribution to a music that was international in appeal. The performance of this music, encouraged by civil and religious authorities, was widespread in castle, court, church and humble home alike. 'If any wolde be merie, let him sing Psalmes.'³ In fact the singing of psalms was a mark of the good citizen. Psalmody flourished and became ingrained in the lives of the Scots almost in the manner of folk-song. Indeed psalm tunes formed a common treasury of popular song.

From the outset the Reformed Church of Scotland laid stress on the necessity of education and in due course the song schools began to be revived under the combined auspices of town councils and Kirk sessions. Song schools in Aberdeen and Edinburgh in particular were important centres of music-making.

Real efforts of Kirk and King to improve music were successful to a degree. It was during the brief time of Episcopalian upsurge (about 1610-1637) that the Chapel Royal music at Holyrood came to be revived. The Episcopalian party within the Church of Scotland was, however, not a sufficiently vigorous force to alter Presbyterian views.

Royal and noble patronage aided the cause of church music: witness the music at royal baptisms;⁴ music at James VI's visit to Edinburgh in 1617 (when a new Dallam organ was built for the Chapel Royal and the Prayer Book

3. Title page of the Scottish Psalter, 1594.

4. Ch.IV p.77.

services were sung);⁵ and music at Charles I's Scottish coronation, 1633 (when the choir of the English Chapel Royal visited Edinburgh).⁶

Yet the revival of the Scottish Chapel Royal under James VI and Charles I was of no permanent impact. For one thing, the removal of the court to London at the Union of the Crowns (1603) deprived Edinburgh of a certain cultural focus. (It was the Scotsman Andrew Blackhall who dedicated his anthem 'Of mercy and of judgement both' to James VI in 1569; but in 1617 it was the English composer Orlando Gibbons who wrote music for the King's welcome to Edinburgh.) For another, the Scottish Prayer Book 1637, which would have provided an incentive for the composers of church music, was met with such hostility by the puritanical Presbyterians.

The Directory of Public Worship, 1645, allowed metrical psalms, but the Scottish Psalter of 1650 was printed without music. Yet some Reformation Scottish church music remains indelible, for a number of Scottish 'common' tunes have stood the test of time and are to be found in hymn books of the present day. In the 1646 editions of the psalter are found these words:

And now let this prayer be our conclusion
That the glory of God, by the more lightsome,
cheerfull and spiritual singing of Psalms, jointly
with the edification of the singer may be advanced.

5. Ch. V, p. 111; Ch. IV, p. 82.

6. Ch. IV, p. 93.

A P P E N D I X I

HISTORICAL TABLE

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1559		Knox returned to Scotland		
1560	Death of Mary of Guise, deposed Queen Regent.	The Scots Confession (earliest official document of the Reformed Church.) <u>The First Book of Discipline.</u>		
24 Aug.	Parliamentary Act of Supremacy, abolishing Papal power in Scotland.	20 Dec. First General Assembly in Edinburgh.		
1561 19 Aug.	Mary Queen of Scots returned to Scotland.			
1562				Thomas Wood began his collection of psalm tune settings.
1564		Death of John Calvin. <u>The Book of Common Order.</u>		
1565	Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley.			

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1566	Murder of Riccio			Thomas Wood completed his collection of psalm tune settings.
9 Mar.				5 Dec. Andrew Kemp's setting of <u>Veni Creator.</u>
19 June	James VI born at Edinburgh Castle			
1567				
10 Feb.	Murder of Darnley			8 Jan. Andrew Kemp's canticle <u>Song of Ambrose and Augustine</u> composed.
15 May	Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Earl of Bothwell.			
24 July	Forced abdication of Mary Queen of Scots.			
29 July	Crowning of the infant James VI.			
22 Aug.	James, Earl of Moray (Mary's half-brother) proclaimed Regent.			
1569				Andrew Blackhall's anthem - <u>Of Mercy and of Judgement</u> - composed.

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1569/70				
3 Jan.	The Earl of Moray was assassinated. Matthew, 4th Earl of Lennox (Darnely's father) appointed Regent, but died the following year.			
1570			c.1570-7 Menzies Castle, Perthshire	Andrew Kemp app. master of Aberdeen song school (St. Nicholas).
1571				
Sept.	John, 6th Earl of Mar (Keeper of Stirling Castle) appointed Regent, but died the following year.	7 April. Archbishop Hamilton hanged.		
1572				
Nov.	James, 4th Earl of Morton (among the slayers of Riccio) appointed Regent.	24 Nov. Knox died.		
1575				Andrew Blackhall's anthem - <u>Blessed</u> <u>art thou</u> composed. c.1575 <u>The Art of</u> <u>Music</u> - theoretical treatise of Scottish authorship

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1577			Alexander Montgomerie (1556?-1610?) made Poet Laureate of the Court.	
1578				Andrew Blackhall's anthem <u>Judge and revenge</u> - composed.
1579 Nov.	Act of Parliament for instruction of the youth in music.			
1580			Elcho, Perthshire	
1581	Earl of Morton beheaded	<u>The Second Book of Discipline</u>		
1583	University of Edinburgh founded.			
1584		May. The 'Black Acts'; the king head of the Kirk, Assembly to meet only with royal authority bishops to be app. by the crown, ministers not to preach politics.		
1587	Mary Queen of Scots beheaded at Fotheringay Castle.			

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1589	Marriage of James VI to Anne, younger daughter of Frederick II of Denmark.			
1590	Anne's Coronation.			
1592	Charter for Fraserburgh University drawn.			Thomas Wood completed his <u>St. Andrews Psalter</u> MSS. about this date.
1593	Marischall College, Aberdeen, founded.			
1594		Prince Henry's baptism		
1595				Scottish Psalter
1596			c.1596 - Crathes Castle, Aberdeenshire.	
1600	Charles I born at Dunfermline; Gowrie conspiracy to dethrone James I.		c.1600 - Amisfield, Dumfriesshire. c.1600-3 - Fyvie, Aberdeenshire.	An edition of <u>Gude and Godlie Ballatis</u> (without music).
1603	Union of the Crowns.			
1604		Hampton Court Conference between Church Prelates and Puritans.	Sir William Alexander's collection of sonnets - 'Aurora'.	

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1605	Gunpowder Plot			
1609				Andrew Blackhall died.
1610		Restoration of a real Episcopate		Duncan Burnett's Music-Book dates about this year
1611		Authorised King James VI version of the Bible		
1615			Old Manor House, Edinburgh, by John Byers (now St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral Song School)	Scottish Psalter (2 editions).
1617	James VI and I visited Scotland.			Dallam's organ for the Chapel Royal, Holyroodhouse. Andrew Melville app. Dr. in St. Nicholas song shhool, Aberdeen.
1619	Death of Queen Anne			
1621			Alexander Montgomerie's 'Flyting betwixt Montgomerie and Polwart' published.	

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1623		English Prayer Book used at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews	David Calderwood's <u>Altare Damascenum</u>	
1624			Craigievar Aberdeenshire.	
1625	Death of James VI and I Accession of Charles I.		The Bruce tomb in the Abbey Church, Culross, Fifeshire.	Scottish Psalter.
c.1626				Sir William Mure of Rowallan's <u>Cantus</u> part-book begun.
1627			'Robert, Mester Erskine' painted by George Jameson, portrait painter (1588-1644).	
1628	Petition of Right			
c.1628-50			George Heriot's School, Edinburgh. Sir William Mure's 'True Crucifix for True Catholics'. Argyll's Lodging, Stirling 'townhouse'.	
1633	Scottish Coronation of Charles I.		Restoration of the Chapel Royal at Falkland Palace.	Scottish Psalter.

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1634				Scottish Psalter. Edward Millar's Music-Book. Millar app. Master of the Choristers at the Chapel Royal, Holyrood.
1635				Scottish Psalter. c.1635 Robert Edward's Common-place book begun. Lady Anne Ker's Music Book.
1637		Scottish Book of <u>Common Prayer</u> .		
1638		28 Feb. National Covenant of Scottish Presbyterians held in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.		
1639	Montrose defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir.	Beginning of Wars of the Covenant.		c.1639 William Stirling's <u>Cantus</u> part-book.
1640-60	The Long Parliament.			

Date	Some Historical Figures and Events	Ecclesiastical Figures and Events	Art, Architecture and Literature	Music and Composers
1642-60	Civil War in England between Charles I and Parliament			
1645		William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, executed. <u>Directory of Public Worship.</u>		
1649	Execution of Charles I.			

APPENDIX II

CALVIN'S WRITINGS ON MUSIC

(i) ... it is more than evident, that neither voice nor song, if they be used in prayer, have any force, or do any whit profit before God, unless they proceed from the deep affection of the heart. But rather they provoke his wrath against us, if they come only from the lips and out of the throat; for as much as that is to abuse his holy name, and to mock his majest ... Neither yet do we here condemn voice or singing, but rather do highly commend the, so that they accompany the affection of the mind. For so they exercise the mind and hold it intent in thinking upon God: which as it is slippery and rolling, easily slacketh and is diversely drawn unless it be stayed with diverse helps. Moreover wheréas the glory of God ought after certain manner to shine in all parts of our body it specially behoveth that the tongue be applied and devoted to this service both in singing and in speaking, which is properly created to shew forth and display the praise of God; but the chief use of the tongue is in public prayers, which are made in the assembly of the godly: which tend to this end, that we may all with one common voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorify God whom we worship with one spirit and one faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, every one of his brother, may receive the confession of faith, by the example whereof they may be both allured and stirred.

As for the use of singing in churches (that I may touch this also by the way) it is certain that it is not only most ancient: but that it was also in use among the apostles, we may gather by these words of Paul. I will sing in spirit, I will sing also in mind. 1 Cor. XIV.13.¹ Again to the Colossians, teaching and admonishing you, mutually in hymns psalms and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.²

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1. 'The First Letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians', ch. 14, v.13. The New English Bible (1961) translates the verse: 'will sing hymns as I am inspired to sing, but I will sing intelligently too'.
 2. 'The Letter of St. Paul to the Colossians', ch. 3, v.16. New English Bible - 'Sing thankfully in your hearts to God, with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.'

For in the first place he teacheth that we should sing with voice and heart: in the other he commandeth spiritual songs, wherewith the godly do mutually edify themselves ... And truly if songs be tempered to that gravity which becometh the presence of God and angels, it both procureth dignity and grace to the holy actions, and much availeth to stir up the minds to true affection and ferventness of praying. But we must diligently beware that our ears be not more heedfully bent to the note, than our minds to the spiritual sense of the words. With which peril Augustine in a certain place saith, that he was so moved, that he sometimes wished that the manner which Athanasius kept should be established, which commanded that the reader should sound his words with so small a bowing of his voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembered how much profit he himself had received by singing, he inclined to the other side. Confess. lib. X. cap. 33. Therefore using this moderation, there is no doubt that it is a most holy and profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songs soever are framed only to sweetness and delight of the ears, they both become not the majesty of the church, and cannot but highly displease God.

- The Institution of the Christian Religion,
BK. III, trans. by Thomas Norton, 1561,
ch. 20 - sections 31, 32.

(ii) As to the public prayers, these are of two kinds: some are offered by means of words alone, the others with song. And this is not a thing invented a little time ago, for it has existed since the first origin of the Church; this appears from the histories, and even Saint Paul speaks not only of praying by word of mouth, but also of singing. [I Cor. ch. 14, v. 15] And in truth we know by experience that song has great force and vigour to move and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal. It must always be looked to that the song be not light and frivolous but have weight and majesty, as Saint Augustine says, [Epistola LV, xviii, 347] and there is likewise a great difference between the music one makes to entertain men at table and in their homes, and the psalms which are sung in the Church in the presence of God and His angels.

Therefore, when anyone wishes to judge rightly of the form that is here presented, we hope that he will find it

holy and pure, for it is entirely directed toward that edification of which we have spoken /i.e. the common edifications of all/ however more widely the practice of singing may extend.

Now among other things proper to recreate man and give him pleasure, music is either the first or one of the principal, and we must think that it is a gift of God deputed to that purpose.

Wherefore we must be the more diligent in ruling it in such a manner that it may be useful to us and in no way pernicious. For this reason the early doctors of the Church often complain that the people of their times are addicted to dishonest and shameless songs, which not without reason they call mortal and Satanic poison for the corruption of the world. Now in speaking of music I understand two parts, namely, the letter, or subject and matter, and the song, or melody. It is true that, as Saint Paul says, every evil word corrupts good manners, /Eph. ch. 4, v.29/ but when it has the melody with it, it pierces the heart much more strongly and enters within; as wine is poured into the cask with a funnel, so venom and corruption are distilled to the very depths of the heart by melody. Now what is there to do? It is to have songs not merely honest but also holy, which will be like spurs to incite us to pray to God and praise Him, and to meditate upon His works in order to love, fear, honour, and glorify Him.

Although we look far and wide and search on every hand, we shall not find better songs nor songs better suited to that end than the Psalms of David which the Holy Spirit made and uttered through him.

Then we must remember what Saint Paul says - that spiritual songs cannot be well sung save with the heart. /Eph. ch. 5, v.19.7/ Now the heart requires the intelligence, and therein, says Saint Augustine, lies the difference between the singing of men and of birds. /In Psalmum XVIII Enarratio, II, 1.7/ For a linnet, a nightengale, a parrot will sing well, but it will be without understanding. Now the peculiar gift of man is to sing knowing what he is saying. After the intelligence must follow the heart and the affection, which cannot be unless we have the hymn imprinted on our memory in order never to cease singing.

Touching the melody, it has seemed best that it be moderated in the way that we have adopted in order that it may have been the weight and majesty proper to the subject and may even be suitable for singing in Church, according to what has been said.

Geneva, 10 June, 1543.

- The 'Epistle to the Reader' from the Genevan Psalter, 1543, Trans. by Oliver Strunk in Source Readings in Music History, London, 1952, pp. 346-7.

(iii) 'That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the King hath set up'.

[The Book of Daniel, ch. 3, v. 5]

I do not know what kind of musical instruments these were. Respecting the use of musical instruments, I confess it to be customary in the Church even by God's command; but the intention of the Jews and of the Chaldeans was different. For when the Jews used trumpets and harps and other instruments in celebrating God's praises, they ought not to have obtruded this custom on God as if it was proof of piety; but it ought to have another object, since God wished to use all means of stirring men up from their sluggishness, for we know how cold we grow in the pursuits of piety, unless we are aroused. God, therefore, used these stimulants to cause the Jews to worship him with greater fervour. But the Chaldeans thought to satisfy their god by heaping together many musical instruments. For, like other persons, they supposed God like themselves, for whatever delights us, we think must also please the Deity. Hence the immense heap of ceremonies in the Papacy, since our eyes delight in such splendours; hence we think this to be required of us by God, as if he delighted in what pleases us. This is, indeed, a gross error. There is no doubt that the harp, trumpet and other musical instruments with which Nebuchadnezzar worshiped his idol, formed part of his errors, and so also did the gold. God, indeed, wished his sanctuary to manifest some splendour; not that gold, silver, and precious stones please him by themselves, but he wished to commend his glory to his people, since under this figure they might understand why everything previous should be offered to

God, as it is sacred to him. The Jews, indeed, had many ceremonies, and much of what is called magnificent splendour in the worship of God, and still the principle of spiritual worship yet remained among them. The profane, while they invented gross deities which they revered according to their pleasure, thought it a proof of perfect sanctity, if they sang beautifully, if they used plenty of gold and silver, and if they employed showy utensils in these sacrifices.

- Commentary on the Book of Daniel, vol. I,
Trans. T. Myers, Edinburgh, 1852, pp. 205, 212.

(iv) 'Rejoice in Jehovah, ye righteous;
praise is comely for the upright.
Praise Jehovah upon the harp;
Sing unto him upon the viol, and an
instrument of ten strings.
Sing a new song unto him;
sing loudly with joyfulness.'

[Psalm 33, v. 1-3.]

It is evident that the Psalmist here expresses the vehement and ardent affection which the faithful ought to have in praising God, when he enjoins musical instruments to be employed for this purpose. He would have nothing omitted by believers, which tends to animate the minds and feeling of men in singing God's praises. The name of God, no doubt, can, properly speaking, be celebrated only by the articulate voice; but it is not without reason that David adds to this those aids by which believers were wont to stimulate themselves the more to this exercise; especially considering that he was speaking to God's ancient people. There is a distinction, however, to be observed here, that we may not indiscriminately consider as applicable to ourselves, every thing which was formerly enjoined upon the Jews. I have no doubt that playing upon cymbals, which is so frequently mentioned in the Psalms, was a part of the education; that is to say, the puerile instruction of the law: I speak of the stated service of the temple. For even now, if believers choose to cheer themselves with musical instruments, they should, I think, make it their object not to disserve their cheerfulness from the praises of God. But when they frequent their sacred assemblies, musical instruments in celebrating the praises of God would be no more suitable than the burning of incense, the lighting up of lamps, and the restoration of other shadows of the law. The Papists, therefore, have

foolishly borrowed this as well as many other things from the Jews. Men who are fond of outward pomp may delight in noise; but the simplicity which God recommends to us by the apostle is far more pleasing to him. Paul allows us to bless God in the public assembly of the saints only in a known tongue. [1 Cor. ch. 14, v. 16.] The voice of man, although not understood by generality, assuredly excels all inanimate instruments of music; and we see what St. Paul determines concerning speaking in an unknown tongue. What shall we say of chanting, which fills the ears with nothing but an empty sound? Does anyone object, that music is very useful for awakening the minds of men and moving their hearts? I own it, but we should always take care that no corruption creep in, which might both defile the pure worship of God and involve men in superstition. Moreover, since the Holy Spirit expressly warns us of this danger by the mouth of Paul, to proceed beyond what we are there warranted by him is not only, I must say, unadvised zeal, but wicked and perverse obstinacy.

- Commentary on the Book of Psalms, vol. I,
Trans. by J. Anderson, Edinburgh, 1845, p. 537.

(v) 'God is gone up with triumph;
Jehovah with the sound of the trumpet.
Sing praises to God, sing praises:
sing praises to our King, sing praises.
For God is King of all the earth:
sing praises everyone who understandeth.

[Psalm 47, v. 5-7.]

He [the Psalmist] argues, that by engaging in this exercise of singing praises to God they will not be acting blindly or at random, as the superstitious, who, having no certainty in their false systems of religion, lament and howl in vain before their idols. He shows that the faithful have just ground for celebrating with their mouths and with a cheerful heart the praises of God ... To show greater earnestness in his exhortation, he repeats the words, Sing, praises to God, five times ... he invites to this exercise all who are skilful in singing. He, no doubt, speaks of knowledge in the art of music, but he requires, at the same time, the worshipers of God to sing the praises of God intelligently, that there may not be the mere sound of tongues, as we know to be the case among the Papists. Knowledge of what is sung is required in order to engage in a proper manner in the singing of psalms, that the name of God may not be profaned, as it would certainly

be were there nothing more but the voice which melts away for is dissolved in the air.

- Commentary on the Book of Psalms, vol. II, p.211.

(vi) 'My heart is prepared, O God!
my heart is prepared;
I will sing and give praise.
Awake up, my tongue:
awake psaltery and harp.'

[Psalm 57, v. 7,8,7

David intimates that he would celebrate the praises of God with the voice and with instrumental music. He assigns the first place to the heart, the second to declaration with the mouth, the third to such accompaniments as stimulate to greater ardour in the service.

- Commentary on the Psalms, vol. II, p.365.

Calvin discusses music in the following writings. These complement the ideas set forth in the above quotations, but contain no new principles.

Comentary on the Book of Psalms, Ps. 69, v.30; Ps. 71, v. 22, 23; Ps. 81, v. 1-3; Ps. 92, v. 1-3; - all from vol. III.

and Ps. 144, v. 9; Ps. 150, v. 3-6; - from vol. V.

Commentary on the Book of Genesis, ch. 4, v.20.

Homily 66 on I Samuel, ch. 18, v. 1-9.

British Museum MS 'Sloane MS 1021' is a commonplace book (1640) of Johann Stobaeus, Kapellmeister of Königsberg. Folio 115 contains miscellaneous notes on music, including Calvin's opinion, according to Zwingli.

A P P E N D I X III

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO CHURCH MUSIC WHICH HAVE NOT APPEARED
IN FULL IN THE TEXT

Acts of Parliament of Scotland - Acta Parliamentorum Jacobi VI

- (i) 11 November 1579, cap. 58
for instruction of the youth in musik.

For instructioun of the youth in the art of musik and singing a/ū/1k is almaist decayit and sall schortly decay w/i/t/h/out a/d/uisse of his thrie estaitis of this present parliament Requeistis the prouest baillies counsale and communitie of the maist speciall burrowis of this realme And of the patronis and prouestis of the collegis quhair sang seullis ar foundat To erect and sett vp ane sang scuill w/i/t/h/ ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of the youth in the said science of musik As they will answer to his hienes vpoun the perrell of thair fundationis and in performing of his hienes requeist do vnto his maiestie acceptable and gude pleasure /e/.

- (ii) 29 July 1587, cap. 91
Ratification to thomas hudsoun musiciane.

Oure Souerane Lord w/i/t/h/ aduise of his thre /e/ estaitis assemblit in this present parliament Ratifies apprevis and for his hienes and his successouris perpetuallie confermes the lettre maid be his hienes w/i/t/h/ aduise of the lordis of his secreit counsall and of his collector generall Makand his lovit daylie suitor thomas hudsoun musiciane maister of his hienes chappell royall and commissioner to the effect specifit in the said lettre and of the yeirlie fie contenit therein as the same of the dait fyft day of Junij The year of god J^{mc} Fourscoir sex yeiris at lenth beiris And Ordainis the said lettre to haif full effect and executionn Not onlie concerni n/g his hienes chappell royall of struiling Bot his hienes vther chantorie colleges quhairvpoun his Ma/ies/tie grantis lyk powar and commissioun to the said thomas as vpoun his hienes awin chappell royall Saulffand to all pairities their awin titillis and richtis quhairvnto thai /were/ luachfullie and ordourlie

depuiddit And that this present ratificatioun and commissioun saibe na preiudice to the order to be takin be the lordis modifearis of stipendis of ministeris anent the saidis colleges. And dischargis all vtheris commissiounis and giftis toward the ordouring the saidis colleges or intro-missioun and vptaking of ony pairtis of the rentis of the same Except that q/ui/lk is disponit to ministeris and reidaris actuallie serueand at the kirkis annex to the saidis colleges Or to studentis for sevin yeir actuallie remaining at their studie to the condition of the giftis maid to thame therevpoun.

- (iii) 5 June 1592, cap. 43
Concerning the Kingis chappell royall of striuiling and his hienes Musicianis.

Oure Souerane Lord w/i/t/h/ a/d/uise of his estaitis in this present parliament Ratifies appreis and for his hienes and his successouris confirmis the lettres maid and grantit to be his hienes w/i/t/h/ advise of the lordis of his secreit counsaill and of his collector generall Makand and constituand his hienes dalie suitor Thomas hudson musiciane m/aste/r of his hienes chappell royall and commissioner to the effect specifiet in the said lettre and of the yeirlie fie thairin contenit as the samyn of the dait the fyft day of Junij the yeir of god, J^{my}^c four-scoir sex yeiris at mair lenth baris In all pointis articles and clauses thairof efter the forme and tennor of the same And ordanis the said lettre to have full effect strenth and executioun in tyme cuming nocht onlie concerning his Ma/ies/tie grantis lyk power and commissioun to the said thomas as vpoun his hienes awn chappell royall And becaus thair is ane greit pairt of the fruittis and rentis of the Kirkis and benefices pertening to Ministeris serving the cure of the saidis Kirkis thairfoire his Maiestie w/i/t/h/ a/d/uise foirsaid Ordanis and commandis his hienes collector generall and thesaurair of the new augmentationis To answer and mak payment yeirlie to the said thomas of samekle as he sall want of the heirlie fruittis and rentis of the saidis Kirkis and teyndes thairof be the benefices or stipendis assignit or disponit to the ministeris furth of the same And for the remanent prebendaries and rentis of the said chappell royall foundit vpoun temporall landis and disponit to quhatsumeuir vtheris nor to the said thomas and use of the saidis musicianis at ony tyme sen the dait of his said gift findis and declaris that he hes guid richt and actioun to persew for reduction and annulling thairof To the effect the same may be Josit and vsit according to the effect and meaning of the said gift

and prouisioun in all pointis And becaus thomas salhaue payit to him yeirlie in his fie be the collector generall off the superplu of the thriddis of benefices w/i/t/h in this realme The sowm of tua hundreth pundis mo n eay and samekle of the rentis of the same chappell royall be recoverit be him as will extend to the same sowme Thairfoir his Maiestie w/i/t/h a/d/uise and consent of his saidis thre estaites hes thot meit statute and ordanit that his hienes sall not dispone at na tyme heireftir nane of the prebendaries of the same chappell royall to quhatsumeuir personis ether vacand be deceise or vtherwayes Bot hes ordanit the said thomas to intomett w/i/th the furittis and rentis of the same cuir as thay salhappin to vaik and to be comptable thairof to his maiestie and his chekker allowand thairin his awin fie contenit in the said lettre ay and his hienes haue declarit quhat nowmer of musicianis he wilhaue to serue him in his house and chappell and quhat fieceuris persone salhaue And that it be found thair is samekle of the rentis of the same prebendaries extant as to pay the same fies w/i/th And incase it salhappin his ma/is/tie To mak ony new dispositioun of ony of the same prebendaries vtherwayis nor is befoir prouydit In that cais his Ma/is/tie w/i/th aduise fairsaid decernis and declaris the same to be of nane auail strenth force nor effect And ordanis and commandis the said thomas to refuis thair admissioun.

(iv) 11 July 1606, cp. 22

Act Anent the chapel Royall and exceptionis thairfra
In fauouris of the Erle of dunbar and Lord of balcleugh.

... understanding that ... King James the fourt following the commendable example of vtheris civill and vertuous princis foundit ane chapell royall constitute of ane sufficient Number of Persones for serveing his ma/is/tie and his successouris in Musiq And mortefeit doted and disponit To the said chappell royall and memberis thairof diuers Kirkis and rentis for thair leving and Intertenement q/ua/rof the fundatioun is now sa fer neglectit As thair is nather ony sufficient Number of qualefeit persones appointit for service thairin ... The inlak q/ua/rof will breif dirogatioun to the honor of the realm q/ui/lk onlie among all the christiane Kingdomes will be the meane vant that civill and commendable prouisioun of ordinar Musick for recreatioun and honour of thair princis FOR remede q/ua/rof and to the effect that be his Ma/is/teis exampill the subjectis of the said Kingdome may be the forder encouraged To interteny thair fundationis of Musick scholis Quhairby youth may be Instructit in that Liberall science q/ui/lk quicknes the ingyne gevis plesant and harmeles

recreatioun to all Estaitis and Estaittis of persones and
 is ane haly exercise agreable to the religioun and commandit
 of god for geving of thankis and praise to his holie
 m/ais/tie our Souerane Lord with advyse and consent of his
 haill estaittis of this present p/ar/liament Ratifeis and
 appreves the said fundatioun and Institutioun of the foirsaid
 chappell royall Insafer as concernis the service of his
 ma/is/tie and his successouris in Musick and all vtheris
 thingis not repugnant to the trew religioun presentlie pro-
 fessit and be the law establissit within this realme And all
 landis kirkis teyndis rentis and commodities quhatsumeir
 mortefeit gevin and disponit to the samis or to ony of the
 memberis thairof

Edited from the facsimile edition of the
Acts of Parliament of Scotland 1421-1701,
Edinburgh, 1908, vol.3, pp. 174, 489, 563;
vol.4, p.298.

Information anent his Ma^{sties} chapell Royall in Scotland
C.1620.

King James the fourt of gude memorie, in the yeir (1501) foundit the chappell royall of Sterling appointing to the fundation, xvi chanonis, nyne prebendaries, and sax boyis with yeirly rent, as followis, the fundation is confirmed be popes Alexander and Julius.

The saxtein chanonis besyd the deane (who had a rent of fyve hundreth merk assigned) to him furth of these foundit and mortified revenues) are these.

1. The subdeane, his rent was the half of Kirk Inner and Kirkowen in galloway, whi c h payit to him besyd the service of the cure at the Kirkis, fourtein scoir merkis yeirly, now payis only XI mark. Andro cowper brother to the Late B. ishop of galloway is titular.

2. The sacriston, who had the just vther half of the saidis Kirkis, payit of old as the vther dilapidat payis now as the vther, xl merk yeirly, The said Andro cowper is titular of this also.

3. The chanter, 4. The thesaurar, 5. The maister of the bairnis. - Eche one of these had in rent 100 lib yeirly furth of S. Marie Kirk of the Lowis. One William scot that dwelleth in the border is chanter, who can not serve nor will not reside. Mr. Thomas gray is thesaurar in lyk maner non resident, never comis to the chapel. James castellaw is maister of the bairns, he attendis dayly, bot the rent is diminished to 160 merk, being first 100 lib. The revenues of this kirk ar set in long taks to the Erle of Bakleugh, worth 2000 lib yeirly.

6. The chancellor, his rent wes the Kirk of Sowthweik whilk now the organist hes. It payis 100 merk be yeir. It had also ane Kirk in Bute, whilk now payis 50 merk be yeir, and the trumpeter forgison hes it. Thir are called the sax dignities.

7. The person of Kellis, hes now 100 lib yeirly, a child Thomas cowper nevoy to the late Bischop is titular, can not serve.

8. The person of Balmaklellan, hes only 50 merk. Patrik dumbar titular, attendis and is skilfu.

9. The person of glenwhom, hes 50 merk, and hes sold it to L. Wigton. Vaikand.

10. The person callit Air primo, hes 100 lib yeirly, the foirsaid Andro cowper titular of this also.

11. The person of Alloway, hes 80 merk yeirly, another child James cowper nevoy to the late Bischop is titular, and can not serve.
12. The person of dalmellinton, hes 80 merk, Johne Gib his Masties servant is titular. no attendance.
13. The person of dalrumpill, hes 50 merk, Andro sinklar titular, attendis and is skilfull.
14. Culton now divyded betuix two personis, the said James Castellaw and Barnard Lyndesay his Masties servant eche of them hes lx lib yeirly. barnard Lyndesay can not attend.
15. and 16. Creif, having tuo personis foundit, the said Mr. Thomas gray one, and a child callit Henry now the vther; eche of them hes xl lib yeirly; This Kirk is set in taks, it is worth 22 chalderis yeirly by the vacarage. Thir ar the xvi chanonis.

The Nyn prebendars ar, fyve in Strbran, whairof the said patrik dumbar hath one, and Sthephan Tillidaf the vther four, ilk prebendarie is xx lib yeirly. The vther four are in Castellaw, whairof the said James castellaw hath one, William duncanson that dwelleth into pole, another, and James Keith, who attendis and is skilfull the vther two, their prebendis ar worth eche of them 35 merk yeirly.

The sax boyis had 90 merkis among them, whairof their is none this day, and of all the xvi chanonis and Nyn prebendis, only sevin attendis, and hes no meanes, so that only they sing the comon tune of a psalme, and being so few, ar skarse knowen.

Item thair is alkeris besyd sterling called the Raploch foundit and pertaining to it bot hes never payit this long tyme.

Thir above written Kirkis ane rentis, are reknit in the fundation to have payit to the chapell then in the 1501 yeir 2000 lib yearly, whilk is more then ten thowsand lib now and this day payis only twell hundreth lib and most of it to non residentis.

Remedies

First to restore the 312 lib, whilk wes duly payit furth of Loquhaber and Kintyre furth of the kingis duties all the dayis of King James the fourt and fyft, and of late ceased,

these boundis ceasing to be ciuill, whilk now blessed be god is vtherwayis, and suld be restored.

Secondly to assay be course of law, to repair the dilapidat estait of this benefice, diminution of rentall being so evident; and by the lawis of Scotland a clear irritation of ane tak, besyd that these takis wanting the patron his consent, (who is his Mastie) can not subsist, and to this effect to writ to My lord advocat and Secreter to have a cair herein, as of his masties proper service.

Thirdly, seing thair hes bene mortified to the chapel besyd the aboue written rentis, evin in the fundation, the pryorie of Restenot, the prebendaries of Spot, Belton Bunds, Pinkarton, lyand within the college Kirk of dumbar, Kinkairn in Mar, Pettie, Brachly and duthell in Murray, Ellam and Cranschawis in Lamermuir, all thir ar conteined in the fundation. Item, be act of parliament the pryorie of coldinghame is annexit to the chapell, of all whilkis the chapell hes nothing; to try (seing the titulars of the chapell hes never renuncit these kirkis and benefices) how they ar lost, and either be law, or composition some yeirly dutie may be had furth of them.

Lastly, if no better meanes can be had, a new fundation must supplie it, or els all will cease. and a howse to the dean to dwell in wald be given, or to pay the maill [i.e. rent] of it, as wes befoir.

National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS.
33.3.12. (Denmilne MS. XV, no.41.)
Dated c.1620.

'The Argument' from the Scottish Psalter, 1633

This booke of Psalmes, is set foorth vnto vs, by the holie Ghost, to bee esteemed as a most precious treasure; wherein all things are contained which appertayne vnto true Felicitie, as well in this lefe present, as in the life to come.

For, the riches of true knowledge, and Heavenlie Wisdome are here set open for vs, to take thereof most abundantlie.

If we would know the great and high Majestie of GOD, here we may see the brightnesse thereof shyne most clearlie.

If we would seeke His incomprehensible Wisdome, here is the Schoole of the same profession.

If wee would comprehende His inestimable Bountie, and approach neare thereunto; and fill our Hands with that Treasure, here wee may have a most livelie and comfortable taste thereof.

If wee would know wherein standeth our Salvation, and how to attaine vnto Lye everlasting, here is CHRIST, our onlie Redeemer, and Mediator, most evidentlie described.

The rich man may here learne the true vse of his Riches.

The poore man may here finde full Contentation.

He that will rejoyce, may here know the true Joy, and how to keepe measure therein.

They that are afflicted, and appressed, may here behold wherein their Comfort standeth: and how they ought to praise GOD, when Hee sendeth them Deliverance.

The Wicked, and persecutors of GOD's Children, may here see how the Hand of GOD is ever against them: and although Hee suffer them to prosper for a while, yet Hee brydeleth them, in so much, as they cannot touch an haire of ones head, except Hee permit them: and how in the ende their destruction is most miserable.

And brieflie, here we may have most present Remedies against all Temptations, and Troubles of Mynde and Conscience. So that being well practised herein, we may be assured against all dangers in this Lye, live in the true feare and love of GOD; and at length, attaine vnto that incorruptible Crowne of Glorie, which is layde vp for all them that love the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST: To whom with the Father, and the Holie Spirit, bee all Prayse, Honour and Dominion for evermore : Amen.

Arrangements for the visit to Scotland of the English
Chapel Royal, 1633

The Kinges Ma^{ties} progress into Scotland. 1633.
in May.

A peticone was sent [?] to his Ma^{ties} for fowre hundred pounds, for a shipp to carry the gent^{/lemen} of the Chapel and their goods.

Three hundred pounds were granted, w^hi^{ch} they had by privy seale out of the exchequer.

A shipp was granted by privy seale procured by Mr [?] Cooke being one of the Commissioners for the Admiralty also the commissioners appoynted for the orderings of this progress had considered of yt.

The privy seale for this 53 lb. add^{/tional} mon^ey was sent [?] to Sir Sampson Dorrell victulor for the Navie w^hi^{ch} he rec^eived from the exchequer and the mon^ey was sent [?] by him to Mr. Sidonham the captaine of the shipp called the Dreadnought, where in the gent^{/lemen} of the Chappell and officers of the vestry moved wⁱth the stuff, and allso the children of the Chappell.

The 300 lb. was thus destributed and disposed of.

The charges of procuringe of the privy seale and the fees of the exchequer came unto - 16 lb.

There went into Scotland of the gent^{/lemen} of the chappell 19. they had 12 lb a peece w^hi^{ch} cam^e [?] in toto to - 228 lb.

There went of the children of ye chappell eight they had amongst them sent [?] to their M^{aste}r a gent^{/leman} patt vⁱz - 12 lb.

The servand of the vestry had a part vⁱz - 12 lb.

The yeoman of the groome of the vestry had vi lb. a peece in toto - 12 lb.

The 2 servants of the chappell and vestry had 40^d a peece vⁱz - 4 lb.

The remained of the 300 lb. was left remayninge in the Deane of the Chappells hands w^hi^{ch} was distributed amongst such gent^{/lemen} of the chappell was he thought best deserved in that journey of w^hi^{ch} the subdeane had vi lb and divers of the gent^{/lemen} 20^d a peece and I thinke the servand of the vestry had 20^d.

The Lord Chamberlaine then gave his warrant to the M^{aste}r of the Kinges Barge for barges and lighters to carry the gent^{/lemen} and the rest wⁱth their stuff, copes, surpleses etc. from whitehall to the shipp w^hi^{ch} lay then at Tillbury hope neare Graves End.

The Preface 'To the Gentle Reader' from the Scottish
Psalter, 1635

To the Gentle Reader,

Good and Gentle Reader, This Book of Psalmes being to bee published in so fair a letter, and so fine paper, to the intent that nothing should be lacking to the decorating thereof, there is added the sweet ornament of Musick, in foure or mo parts throughout the whole Psalmes : Besides a great many Common Tunes, some grave, some light, fitting diverse dispositions : As also some Psalmes in Reports, for the further delight of qualified persons in the said Art. If you bee curious to know who hath undergone these paines for your benefite, I professe my self a Welwiller to Musick, who in live and paines for advancement thereof will yeeld to few, though in qualification to many : I have spent too much tyme, travell and expenses on that facultie, if my skill therein came short of this present task: 'sed exitus acta probet'. The motives moving mee hereunto, are chiefly GODS glorie, the advancement of this Art, the saving of paines to Teachers hereof : the incitation of others to greater acts of this kind, the earnest desire of some well affected, the imployment of my poor talent; together with an abuse observed in all Churches, where sundrie Tribles, Bases, and Counters set by diverse Authors, being sung upon one, and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub each upon another, offending both musicall, and rude ears, which never tasted of this art : which unhappie fault I thought might happily bee helped, and the Church Musick made more plausible by publishing this Booke. I acknowledge sincerely the whole compositions of the parts to belong to the primest Musicians that ever this Kingdome had as 'Deane John Angus, Blackhall; Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan; and others famous for their skill in this kind. I would be most unwilling to wrong such Shyning lights of this Art, by obscuring their Names, and arrogating any thing to my self, which any wayes might derogate from them: For (GOD is my witness) I affect not popular applause, knowing how little soliditie there is in that shadow-like seeming substance, studying to approve my self to GOD in a good conscience : which testimonie finding in my Soul, I contemne all wordly approbation, or opprobation. The first copies of these parts were doubtlessly right set down by these skilfull Authors, but have beene wronged and vitiat by unskilfull copiers, thereof, as all things are injured by tyme : And heerein consisted a part of my paines, that collecting all the sets I could find on the Psalmes, after painfull tryall thereof, I selected the best for this work, according to my simple judgement.

I know the usuall Printing-presse-plague is a malicious mouth, a scourge to all honest studies : and therefore with others I resolve for blowe : which since a man can eschew, I comfort my self with 'Solamen miseris socios habuisse laboris'. But let Critick censurers remember, 'Facilius est carpere quam imitari'. Such may justly be called Mouth-monsters, all tongue, no hands, readie always Critick like, to bark and bite, but footles and handles for putting in practise any good themselves. I do not challenge to my self a Popish prerogative not to erre, for 'Humanum est labi'; Errors and faults are inseparable companions of our nature, here where no perfection can bee. I pray thee therefore be more sparing of thy carping calumniations, and (if thy perverse nature would suffer thee so to do) altogether abandon that inhumane and irreligious backbiting of such, as have painfully waitt for they profite and pleasure, when thou hast prodigally slept : For little dost thou know my nights and dayes paines herein, how little so ever they bee in they self-puft-up conceit : and much lesse doest thou understand the secrets of Printing where matters may miscarrie, if they be not narrowly looked to. Had I ever thought that this matter would have cost mee half the paines I have bestowed thereon, I should never by attempting the same have ministered such occasion to thee, for to spew foorth thy spightfull selanders against mee. But (ah) who will bee more readie at their choppins to passe a chopping censure herein than the mere ignorant? For none is so bold as the blind Block-head, they must find fault with all thing, that they may seeme to bee something, admirable Alcumists, who can quintessenssize praise to themselves from others dispraises : Let such asse eard Midasses bee mute, if they bee wise, for blind fold are unfit judges of collours : and I am as little moved with their mutinous mutterings, as the Moon is with the howling of a Wolf; thinking their language worthie of laughter, or rather (to speak Christianlie) of pittie : and my self a foole of fooles, if I were angrie at their rash, rude, and reasonlesse raylings. As for qualified censurers, if they do it with discretion, and in love, I shall think my self obliged to them, willingly submitting my selfe to their judgement, promising patiently to performe their pleasure, and readily to reforme what they shall call amisse.

There is one thing moreover (good Reader) which I do here publickly professe, that the Gentle-men of his Majesties Chappel-royall, my brethren are free both of good and evill in this matter : And therefore impute not to them any blame for the errors hereof, since they were not accessorie to this my course. It was not any suspicion I had of their skill, for that is superlative, nor yet of their goodwill, for that is indubitative (if for rithme I may break proprietie of

speech) which made mee not to seek them in this matter, but only a respectfull fear of untymous paines taking, to which they are not accustomed: for the Musick proofes comming uncertainly and unseasonably for them, my modiestie would not permit mee to trouble them untymouslie, but resolved for their ease to disease my self. It may bee that some of them after intreatie and declaration of paines herein, would have returned mee excusatorie refuse: for it beseebeth not Eagles to catch flies, and their braines are reserved for higher straines. Others I know would willingly fer my pleasure, the credite of the countrie, and honour of the Art have lent mee their helping hand hereto: but as I have said, I doubted of their findablenes and painfulnes at such unseasonable night dyets, as it behoved mee to make use of them: my conscience urged me to bestow my own private paines herein at all times urging, lest I should cast idle the whole workmen of the Printing house, both to their, and their employers great prejudice and losse. And now my loving and beloved Brethren, having purged you in this matter, I thought good before I conclude to use some words to your selves anent this particular, lest your headstrong passions evill grounded, drive you also to bitter invectives against mee: for I know, that most friends turnes fearfullest foes, when either justly upon true causes, or unjustly upon false they conceive anger. And first, I say, he had need of 'Argus' hundreth eyde-head, who would attend a Printing-presse: for it is not so easie a task as perchance you take it to bee: 'Principiis obsta' holds true in it, as much as in any other thing: and wrongs committed at first are hardly amended thereafter. Next, I think there bee verie few, or none at all books presently passing, or heretofore past the Presse, which are altogether voide of faults, either literall, syllabicall, dictionall, sententionall; or some such like. What wonder then, though in matters of Musick, wherein the Printers are not so well seene, there bee also some errors? Thirdly, let any of you (none-such perhaps in your owne eyes) undertake the like charge, and publish either your own works, or other mens though never so correct, I durst hazard all my wordly worth, (poore I confesse) that where there is one fault past the Presse in this impression, there should bee three (if not mo) in yours. And therefore, Brethren, let this serve to curb your censorious carpings: which if it effectuat not, I will give you the meeting I have promised to the meer ignorants, not to bee angrie, but laugh at your hatefull humours: yet if this, or the like work were to bee reprinted, I could with far lesse paines, both to my self and Printer make it much corrector: for 'fabricando fimus fabri': and to our posterior knowledge in any thing, is more excellent, sounder, and surer than the prior, as being experimentall.

But what a foole am I, edlely to trouble my self in searching out excuses? seing I have a much used Coislt of proof against all such like tongue-thundrings, viz 'vitium Typographi'. One thing I must adde, if there bee any Notes, Cleifs, or others wrongously situat on rules or spaces; or otherwise faultie, as can not be eschewed for for the causes above specified, I earnestly beseech all buyers hereof with a pen to help the same, if they can so do, or bring it to mee, and I faithfully promise to help it to thee, according to my revised copies. Thus intreating your favourable construction, and kind acceptance of my labours. I end with the Poets Distich,

Quum tua non adas carpis mea carmina Laeli,
Carpere vel noli nostra veladde tua.

Almightie God direct us, and protect us in all our courses, through JESUS CHRIST, our Lord and only Saviour.

Thine as thou are mine

E.M.

/Edward Millar/

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Volume II

AN ANTHOLOGY OF

SCOTTISH CHURCH MUSIC 1560 - 1645

A representative collection of psalms, canticles, spiritual songs, psalms in reports and anthems from manuscripts and printed psalters listed in volume I, chapter 7.



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EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

The following notes explain the procedures that have been adopted in making this edition. The Critical Commentary printed after the text contains the notes of amendments to and observations upon the sources.

Clefs

The original part name, clef, key signature and first note are printed at the beginning of each part.

Note values

Note values have been halved.

Time signatures

C3 and 3 are altered to $\frac{3}{4}$.
C and C are altered to 4. All other time signatures are editorial.

Barring

Regular barring has been adopted. Editorial ties, other than those made necessary by barring, are crossed. Final pauses and bar numbers are editorial.

Accidentals

Accidentals (including editorial ones places above notes) are valid for the length of the bar, unless cancelled. All original accidentals redundant by the modern convention have been eliminated without comment. Obsolete forms e.g. # for ♯ have been modernized in the transcriptions without comment.

Words

Syllabic underlay of the texts is editorial in the Psalms and 'Psalms in Reports', but follows the original as closely as possible elsewhere. The spelling of the texts has been modernized. Selected verses from the contemporary metrical psalter have

been added to the 'Psalms in Reports' and to the settings of the proper and common tunes.

All markings in square brackets are editorial.

2. OF MERCY AND OF JUDGEMENT BOTH

ANDREW BLACKHALL

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Cantus, Quintus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "Of mer-cy and of judgements both, Of mer-cy".

Cantus
Of mer-cy and of judgements both, Of mer-cy

Quintus

Altus
Of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my

Tenor
Of mer-cy and of judgements

Bassus
Of mer-cy and of

Handwritten musical score for five voices. The lyrics are: "and of judgements both, O lord, my song shall of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my song shall be; Of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my both, Of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my judge - ment both, O lord, my song shall".

and of judgements both, O lord, my song shall

of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my song shall

song shall be; Of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my

both, Of mer-cy and of judgements both, O lord, my song shall

judge - ment both, O lord, my song shall

10

be; And it so oft as I do sing, O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee. I will my O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee.

15

sing, O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee. thee, O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee. I O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee. O Lord shall be to thee, O Lord shall be to thee.

20

I will my ways with wis-dom guide,
 will my ways with wis-dom guide, till thou my state e-rect:
 ways with wis-domguide, till thou my state e-rect, till
 I will my ways with wis-domguide, till thou my state e-
 I will my ways with wis - dom guide, till thou my

till thou my state e-rect: And
 And walk up-right-ly in thine house, as one of thine e-
 thou my state e-rect: And walk up-right-ly in thine house, as
 e-rect, till thou my state e-rect:
 state e-rect, till thou my state e-rect: And walk up-right-ly in thine

25

walk up-right-ly in thine house, as one of thine e-lect, As
 -lect, And walk up-right-ly in thine house, as
 one of thine e-lect, As one of thine e-lect, As
 And walk up-right-ly in thine house, as one of thine e-lect, As
 house as one of thine e-lect, As

30

one of thine e-lect. No wick-ed thing will I at-tempt, No
 one of thine e-lect. No wick-ed thing will
 one of thine e-lect. No wick-ed thing will I at-tempt,
 one of thine e-lect. No wick-ed
 one of thine e-lect. No wick-ed thing will I at-

35

wick-ed thing will I at-tempt, but from the same re-frain:

I at-tempt, but from the same re-frain, but from the same re-frain: I

No wick-ed thing will I at-tempt, but from the same re-frain:

thing will I at-tempt, but from the same re-frain:

-tempt but from the same re-frain, but from the same re-frain:

40

I hate the sins of faith-less folk, I hate the sins of

hate the sins of faith-less folk, I hate the sins of faith-less

I hate the sins of faith-less folk, No

I hate the sins of faith-less folk, I

I hate the sins of faith-less folk, No such will

faith-less folk, No such will I main-tain. The
 folk, No such will I main-tain, No such will I main-tain. The
 such will I main-tain, No such will I main-tain. The
 I hate the sins of faith-less folk, No such will I main-tain. The
 I main-tain, No such will I main-tain. The

fro-ward heart may take his life, such shall not with me dwell: As
 fro-ward heart may take his life, such shall not with me dwell: As
 fro-ward heart may take his life, such shall not with me dwell: As
 fro-ward heart may take his life, such shall not with me dwell: As
 fro-ward heart may take his life, such shall not with me dwell: As

50

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel.

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel. Who-so his

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel. Who-

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel.

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel.

55

Who-so his neigh-bour doth back-bite, that man will

neigh-bour doth back-bite, who - so - his neigh-bour doth - back-bite, that

so his neigh-bour doth back-bite, who-so his neigh - bour doth back-

Who - so his neigh-bour doth back-bite, who-so his neigh-bour

Who - so his neigh-bour doth back-bite, who-so his

60

I des-troy, that man will I des-troy, that
 man will I des-troy, that man will I des-troy, that
 -bite, that man will I des-troy, that man will I des-troy, that
 doth back-bite, that man will I des-troy, that man will
 nigh-bour doth back-bite, that man will I des-troy, that

man will I des-troy: And who-so hath a proud high
 man will I des-troy: And who-so hath a proud
 man will I des-troy: And who-so hath a
 I-des-troy: And who-so hath a proud high took, And
 man will I des-troy: And who-so

65

look, And who-so hath a proud high look, the same will

high look, And who-so hath a proud high look, the same will

proud high look, and who-so hath a proud high look, the same will

who - so hath a proud high look, And who-so hath a

hath a proud high look, And who-so hath a proud high look, the same will

70

I an-noy, the same will I an - noy, the

I an-noy, the same will I an - noy, the

I an-noy, the same will I an - noy, the

proud high look, the same will I an - noy, the

I an-noy, the same will I an - noy, the

Secunda pars

same will I an - noy. But such as lead a

same will I an - noy.

same will I an - noy. But such as lead a god-ly

same will I an - noy. But

same will I an - noy. But such as

god-ly life, But such as

But such as lead a god-ly life, But such as

life But such as lead a god-ly life, But such as lead a

such as lead a god-ly life, But such as lead a god-ly life,

lead a god-ly life, But such as lead a god-

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "Lead a god-ly life". The score is written on five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff begins with a common time signature 'C'. The music is written in a simple, clear hand, with notes and rests clearly visible. The lyrics are: "lead a god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de-fend, and lead a god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de- And wick-ed- ness for-sake, -ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de-fend, and".

lead a god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de-fend, and

lead a god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake,

god-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de-

And wick-ed- ness for-sake,

-ly life, And wick-ed- ness for-sake, I will de-fend, and

75

more- than that, I will de-fend, and more than that,

I will de-fend, and more than that, I will de-fend, and

-fend, and more than that, I will de-

I will de-fend, and more than that, I will de-fend, and

more than that, I will de-fend, and more

90

I will de-fend, and more than that, my ser-vants will them make, my
 more than that, I will de-fend, and more than that, my ser-vants
 fend, and more than that, I will de-fend, und more than that, my
 more than that, I will de-fend, and more than that, my
 than that, I will de-fend, and more than that, my ser-vants

95

ser-vants will them make. Who-so is bent to use de- ceit, My
 will them - make. Who- so is bent to use de- ceit,
 ser-vants will them make. Who-so is bent to use de
 ser-vants will them make. Who-so is bent to use de- ceit, My house is
 will them - make. Who - so is bent to

house is not for such, My house is not for such, My house is
 My house is not for such, My house is not for such: The
 -ceit, my house is not for such, My
 not for such, My house is not for such:
 use de-ceit, My house is not for such, My house is not for

not for such: The li-ar I may not a-bide, the li-ar I may
 li-ar I may not a-bide, the li-ar I may not a-
 house is not for such: The li-ar I may not a-bide, his
 The li-ar I may not a-bide, the li-ar
 such: The li-ar I may not a-bide, the li-ar

105

- not a-bide, His lies I hate - so much.

-bide, His lies I - hate so much. The un-god-ly

lies I hate so much, his lies I hate so much. The un-

I may not a-bide, His lies I hate so much.

I may not a-bide, His lies I hate so much.

110

The un-god-ly son I will des-troy, the un-god-ly son I

son I will des-troy, the un-god-ly son I will des-troy, the un-god-ly

god-ly son I will des-troy, the un-god-ly son will I des-troy,

The un-god-ly son I will des-

The un-god-ly son will I des-troy, the un-god-ly son will

115

will des-roy, which dwell the land a-bout: And from the ci - ty
 son I will des-roy, which dwell the land a-bout: And
 which dwell the land a-bout: And from the ci - ty of the
 - troy, which dwell the land a-bout:
 I des-roy, which dwell the land a - bout: And from the

120

of the Lord all wick - ed - men root out; And from the ci - ty
 from the ci - ty of the Lord all wick-ed men root out,
 Lord all wick-ed men root out; And from the
 And from the ci - ty of the Lord all wick-ed
 ci - ty of the Lord all wick-ed men root out; And

of the lord all wick-ed men root out, all wick-ed men

And from the ci - ty of the lord all wick-

ci - ty of the lord all wick-ed men - root out, all

men root-out; And from the ci - ty of the lord all

from the ci - ty of the lord all wick-ed

125

- root - out.

- ed men root - out.

wick-ed men root out.

wick-ed men root out.

men - root - out.

2. HAVE MERCY, GOD, FOR THY GREAT MERCY'S SAKE
ANDREW KEMP

S Cantus Have mer - cy, God, for thy great mer - cy's

A Altus Have mer - cy, God, for

T Tenor Have mer.

B Bassus Have mer - cy, God, for thy

sake, O God my God un - to my shame I say, O God my

thy great mer - cy's sake, - for thy great mer - cy's

- cy, God, for thy great mer - cy's sake, O God my

- great mer - cy's sake, O God my God un - to my

God un - to my shame I say, Being fled from thee so - as I

sake, O God my God un - to my shame I say, Being

God un - to my shame I say, Being fled from

shame I say, Being fled from thee

dread to take, being fled from thee so as I dread to
 fled from thee so as I dread to take -
 thee so as - I dread to take thy Name in wretch - ed
 so as I dread to take thy Name in
 take thy Name in wretch - ed mouth and - fear -
 thy Name in wretch - ed - mouth and fear to
 mouth and fear to pray, thy Name in wretch-ed
 wretch - ed mouth and fear pray, and
 - to pray, and - fear to pray, or ask thee mer -
 pray, and fear to pray, or ask thee mer - cy that
 mouth and fear to pray, or ask thee mer - cy that I have a -
 fear to pray, or ask thee mer - cy that I

25

-cy that I have ab-used. But God of mer-

I have a-bused that I have a-bused. But God

-bused. But God of mer-cy let me come to

have a-bused. But God

30

-cy let me come to thee, not for jus-tice, that just-ly

- of mer-cy let me come to thee, not for justice,

thee, not for jus-tice, - that just-ly am ac-cused,

of mer-cy let me come to thee, not

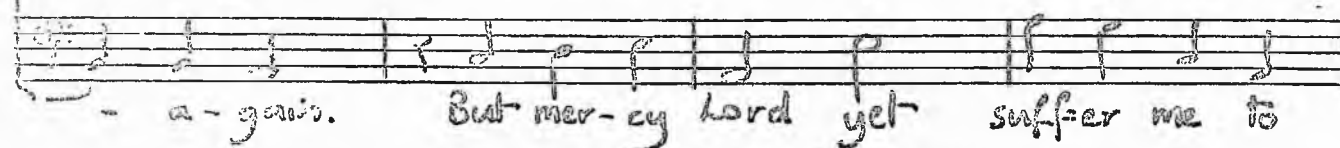
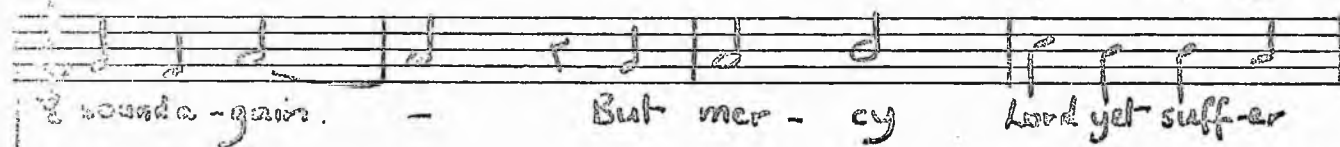
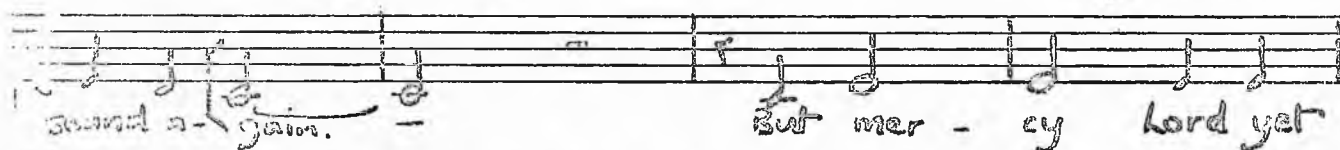
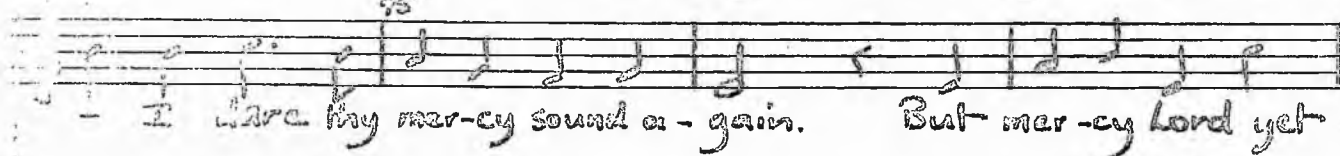
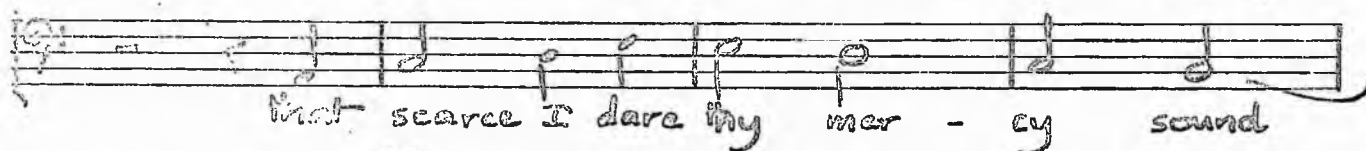
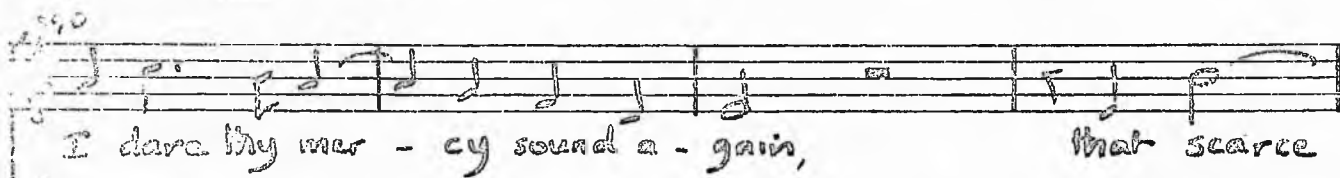
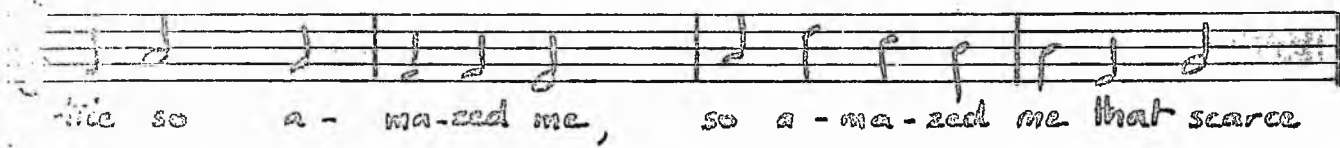
35

am ac-cused, that just-ly am ac-cused, which self-would jus-

that just-ly am ac-cused, that just-ly am ac-cused, which self-

not for jus-tice, that just-ly am ac-cused, which

for jus-tice, that just-ly am ac-cused, which self-would



[#]
 suffer me to crave. Mer - cy is thine, let me
 suff-er me to crave. Mer - cy is thine, let
 me to crave. Mer-cy is thine, let me not
 crave. Mer-cy is thine, let me - not cry
^{ss}
 - not cry in vain, let me - not cry in vain. Thy
 me not cry in vain. Thy great mer-cy for
 cry in vain. Thy great mer-cy for - my great
 in vain. Thy great mer-cy for
 great mer-cy - for my great fault to have, for
 - my great fault, for my - great fault to have.
 fault to have, thy great mer-cy for my great fault to have. Have
 my great fault to have.

60

my great fault to have.

Have mer-cy, God, pi-ty my

Have mer-cy, God, pi-ty my pe-ni-

8 - mer-cy, God, pi - ty my pe - ni - tence with great-er

Have mer-cy, God pi-ty my pe-ni-tence with

65

- pe-ni-tence with greater mer-cy nor my great-of-fence, nor

-fence with great-er mer-cy nor-my great-er-fence. Have

mer - cy nor my great of - fence . Have mer-cy, God, pi -

greater mer - cy nor my great of - fence

70

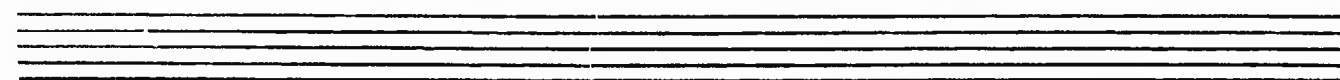
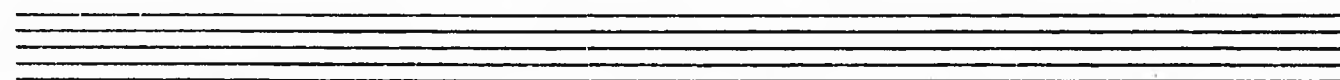
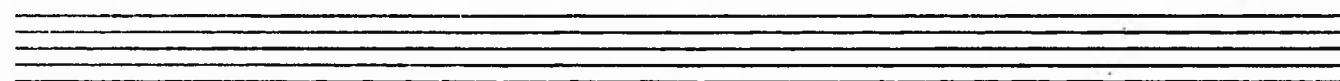
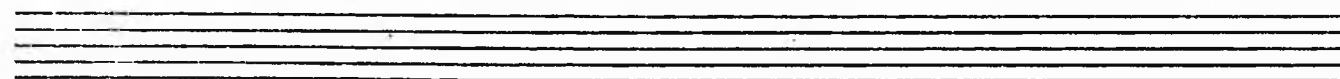
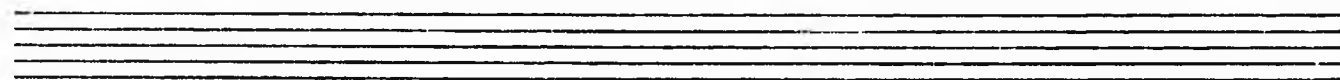
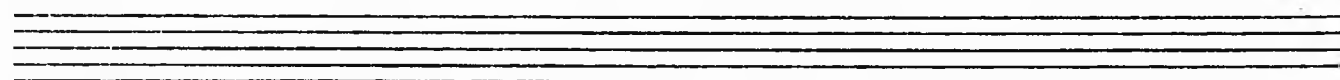
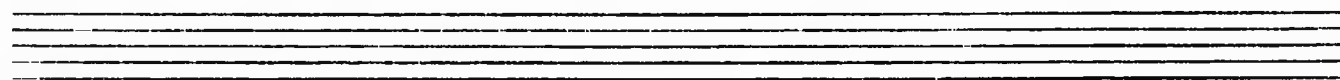
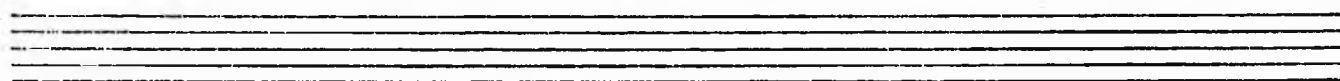
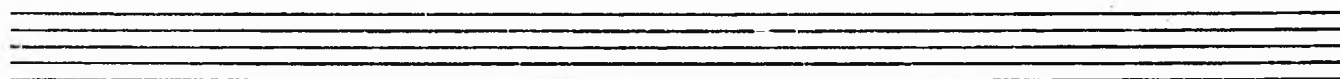
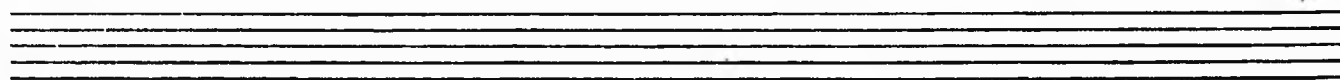
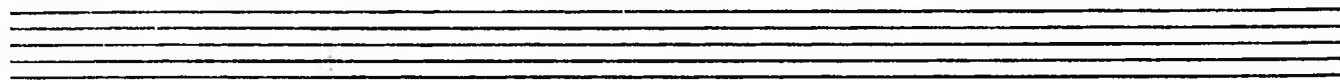
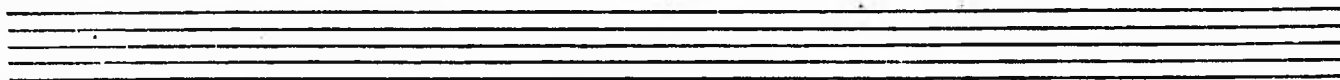
my great of-fence. Have mer-cy, God, pi-ty my pe-ni-

mer-cy, God, pi - ty . my - pe - ni - tence

8 -ty my pe- ni -lence, pi -ty - my pe - ni lence with great

Have mer - cy, God, pi - ty my pe - ni - tence with

-tence with great-er - mer-cy - nor my
 with great-er mer - cy nor - my
 - er mer-cy nor my great of -
 great - er mer - cy nor my - great
 - great of - fence.
 great of - fence.
 -fence.
 of - fence.



3. THE SONG OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

25

JOHN ANGUS

S **Cantus** **My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, My**

A **Altus** **My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, My**

T **CHURCH PART** **Tenor** **My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, My**

B **Bassus** **My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord My**

spirit eke e - ver - more Re - joi - ceth

spirit eke e - ver - more Re - joi - ceth

spirit eke e - ver - more Re - joi - ceth

spirit eke e - ver - more Re - joi - ceth

in the Lord my God which is my Sa - vi - our.

in the Lord my God which is my Sa - vi - our.

in the Lord my God which is my Sa - vi - our.

in the Lord my God which is my Sa - vi - our.

And why? be-cause he did re - gard And

And why? be-cause he did - re - gard And

And why? - be cause he did re-gard And

And why? be-cause he did re - gard And

gave re - spect - un - to the base es -

gave re - spect un - to the base es - tate

gave re - spect un - to the base es -

gave re - spect un - to the base es -

20 - tate of his hand-maid, and let the mighty go.

of his hand-maid, and let the mighty go.

- tate of his hand-maid, and let the mighty go.

- tate of his hand-maid, and let the mighty go.

4. THE SONG OF SIMEON

JOHN ANGUS

S Cantus
 A Altus
 T CHURCH PART Tenor
 B Bassus

O Lord - be-cause my heart's de-sire
 O Lord - be-cause my heart's de-sire hath
 O Lord - be-cause my heart's de-sire
 O Lord - be-cause my heart's de-sire hath

hath wish-ed long to see my on-ly
 - wish-ed long to see my on-ly
 hath wish-ed long to see my on-ly
 - wish-ed long to see my on-ly

Lord and Sa-vi-our Thy son - be-fore I die.

Lord and Sa-vi-our Thy son - be-fore I die.

Lord and Sa-vi-our Thy son - be-fore I die.

Lord and Sa-vi-our Thy son - be-fore I die.

The joy and health of all man-kind de-si-red-

The joy and health of all man-kind de-si-red long

The joy and health of all man-kind de-si-red

The joy and health of all man-kind de-si-red

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics: "long be-fore, which now is come in - to the". The music is written on four staves. The Soprano staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The music is in a simple, folk-like style with a mix of half and quarter notes.

long be-fore, which now is come in - to the

- be - fore, which now is - come in - to the

long be fore, which now is come in - to the

long be-fore, which now is come in - to the

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics: "world of mer-cy bring-ing store.". The music is written on four staves. The Soprano staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The music is in a simple, folk-like style with a mix of half and quarter notes.

world of mer-cy bring-ing store.

world of - mer-cy - bringing store.

world of mer-cy bringing store.

world of mercy bringing store.

S. A PRAYER

JOHN ANGUS

S. A. cantus Altus
 T. B. Tenor Bassus
 CHURCH PART
 Pre-serve us Lord by thy dear

word, From - Turk and Pope de - fend us Lord.

Which - both would thrust out of his throne Our

Lord Je - sus Christ thy dear Son.

6. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

JOHN ANGUS

Soprano (S) Alto (A) Tenor (T) Bass (B)

Cantus Altus

CHURCH PART

At - tend my peo -

Tenor Bassus

-ply and give ear, Of fair-ly things I will thee

tell: See that my words in mind thou bear, And

to my pre-cepts list - en well.

7. DA PACEM DOMINE

JOHN ANGUS

Handwritten musical score for four voices: Cantus, Altus (or Tenor), Tenor, and Bassus. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Give peace in these our dayes O Lord,".

Cantus (Soprano): Give peace in these our dayes O Lord,

Altus (or Tenor): Give peace in these our dayes O Lord,

Tenor (CHURCH PART): Give peace in these our dayes O Lord,

Bassus (Bass): Give peace in these our dayes O Lord,

Handwritten musical score for four voices: Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Great - dan-gers are now at hand. Thine en-e-mies with -".

Cantus (Soprano): Great - dan-gers are now at hand. Thine en-e-mies with -

Altus (or Tenor): Great dan-gers are now at hand. Thine en-e-mies with

Tenor: Great dan-gers are now at hand. Thine en-e-mies with

Bassus (Bass): Great dan-gers are now at hand. Thine en-e-mies

one - ac - cord Christ - es name in ev - 'ry land

- one ac - cord Christ's name - in ev - 'ry land

one ac - cord Christ - es name in ev - 'ry land

with one ac - cord Christ's name in ev - 'ry land

seek to de - face root - out and race Thy

seek to de - face root - out and race Thy true right

seek to de - face root - out and race Thy true right





seek to de - face - root - out and race Thy true

true right wor-ship in - deed. Be thou the
 wor-ship in-deed. Be thou the stay, Be thou the -
 worship in - deed. Be thou the stay Lord we thee
 worship in - deed. Be thou the stay Lord we thee pray,

stay Lord we thee pray, Thou help-est a-lone in all need.
 stay Lord we thee - pray, Thou help-est a-lone in all - need
 pray, Thou help-est a-lone in all need.
 we thee pray, Thou help-est a-lone in all need.

8. THE CREED OF ATHANASIUS

JOHN ANGUS

S  Cantus What man so-e-ver he be that sal-va-
 A  Altus What man so-e-ver he be that sal-va
 T  CHURCH PART Tenor What man so-e-ver he be that sal-va
 B  Bassus What man so-e-ver he be - that sal-va

- tion will at-tain The - cath-o-lic be-lief he must
 - tion will at-tain The cath-o-lic be-lief he
 - tion will at-tain The cath-o-lic be-lief he must
 - tion will at-tain The cath-o-lic be-lief he must

10

- be-fore all things re-tain Which faith un-less he

must-be-fore all things re-tain Which faith un-less he

- be-fore all things re-tain Which faith un-less he

- be-fore all things re-tain Which faith un-less he

15

ho-ly keep and un-de-fi-led-ly With-

ho-ly keep and un-de-fi-led-ly With-oul-

ho-ly keep and un-de-fi-led-ly With-

ho-ly keep and un-de-fi-led-ly With-

Handwritten musical score for four voices. The lyrics are: "out all doubt e-ter-na-ly he shall be sure to die." The score is written on four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes.

Staff 1: -out all doubt e-ter-na-ly he shall be sure to die.

Staff 2: all doubt e-ter-na-ly he shall be sure to die.

Staff 3: -out all doubt e-ter-na-ly he shall be sure to die.

Staff 4: -out all-doubt e-ter-na-ly he shall be sure to die.

9. THE COMPLAINT OF A SINNER
ANDREW KEMP

S
A

CHURCH PART
Cantus Altus

T
B

Tenor Bassus

Where right-eous-ness doth say,

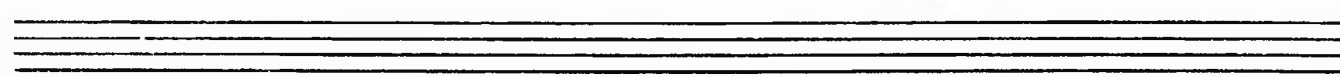
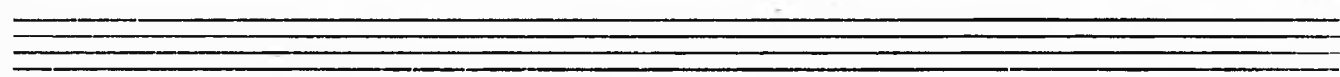
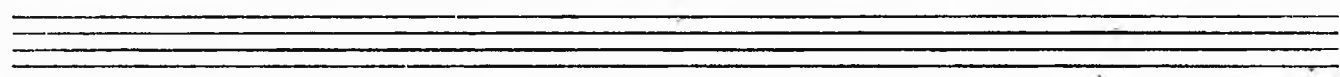
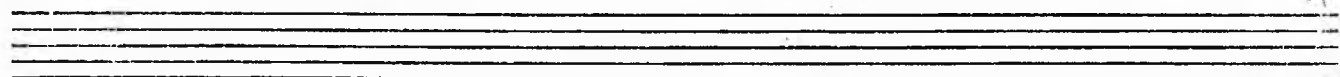
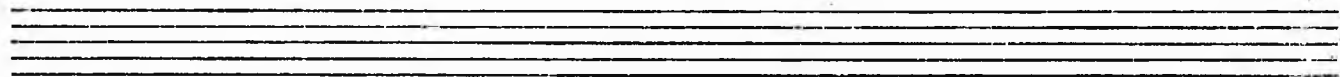
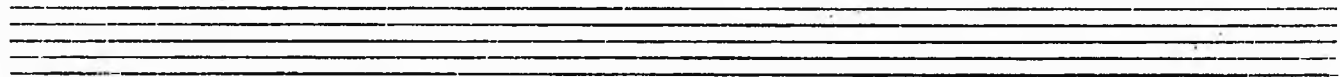
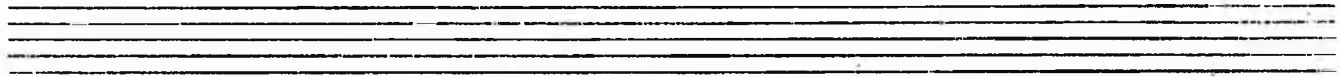
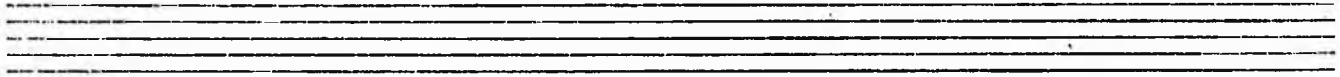
Lord, for my sin-ful part, In wrath thou shouldst pay

Ven-geance for my de-sert: I can-not it de-ny

But needs I must con-fess: How that con-tin-u-al-ly

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The music is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "Thy laws I do trans-gress, Thy laws I do trans-". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first measure is marked with a '15' in the top left corner. The second measure has a sharp sign above it. The third measure has a sharp sign above it. The fourth measure has a sharp sign above it.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-6. The music is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "-gress.". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first measure is marked with a '16' in the top left corner. The second measure has a sharp sign above it.



10. PSALM 6 IN REPORTS

41

ANON.

S or A Treble
T Contra
T² CHURCH PART Tenor
B Bassus

[Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though
[Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though I de-
[Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though
[Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though

I de-serve thine ire: Ne yet cor-rect me in thy -
I de-serve thine ire: Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage
I de-serve thine ire: Ne yet cor-rect me in thy
I de-serve thine ire: Ne yet cor-rect me in thy

rage, O Lord I thee de-sire. ¹⁰

Lord I thee de-sire. For I am weak, there-fore,

rage, O Lord - I thee de-sire. For

rage, O Lord I thee de-sire. For I am weak, there-

For I am weak, there-fore, O Lord of mer - cy me for- ¹⁵

O Lord of mer - cy - me for-bear, me - for - bear :

I am weak, there-fore, O Lord of mer - cy me for-

fore, O Lord, of mer - cy me - for-bear: And

bear: And heal me, Lord, for why thou know'st
 And heal me, Lord, for why thou know'st my
 bear: And heal me, Lord, for why thou know'st
 heal me, Lord, for why thou know'st, And heal me, Lord, for

20
 My bones do quake for - fear.]
 bones do quake for fear, do quake for fear.]
 My bones do quake for fear.]
 Why thou know'st, My bones do quake for fear.]

II. PSALM 12 IN REPORTS

44

ANON.

CHURCH PART

Treble

Contra

Tenor

Bassus

[Help Lord, for good- and god-ly men do

[Help Lord, for good and god-ly men do

[Help Lord, for good and god-ly men do

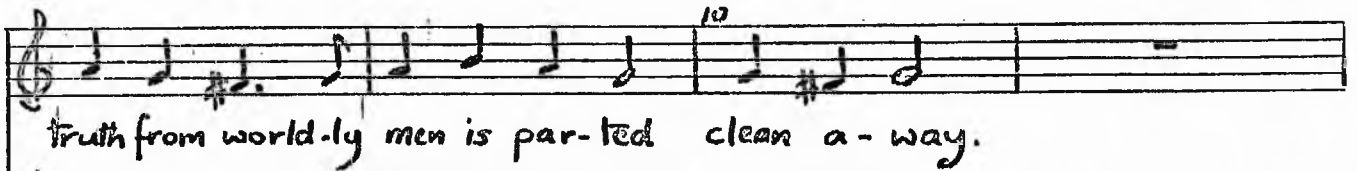
[Help Lord, for good and god-ly men do

pe-rish and de-cay: And faith and

pe-rish and de-cay: And faith and truth from world-ly

pe-rish and de-cay: And faith and truth from world-ly men, and faith and

pe-rish- and de-cay: And faith and truth from- world-ly men is



12. PSALM 18 IN REPORTS [ANDREW BLACKHALL?]

CHURCH PART

Treble

Quintus

Contra

Tenor

Bassus

[O God my strength and for-ti-tude of

[O God my

[O God my strength and for-

[O God my strength and for-ti-tude of

force I must love thee: Thou art my cas-

[O God my strength and for-ti-tude of - force I must

strength and for-ti-tude of. force I must-love thee:

ti-tude of force I must love thee: Thou

force I must love thee: Thou art my cas-tle and de-
 -He and de-fence, in
 -love- thee: Thou art my cas-tle and de-fence,
 Thou art my cas-tle and de-fence, in
 art my cas- tle and de-fence in my ne-

fence, in my ne -ces- si - ty. My God, my rock, in
 my ne-ces - si - ty. My God, my - rock
 in my ne-ces-si-ty. My - God, my rock - in whom
 my ne-ces - si - ty. My
 ces - si - ty. My God, my rock, in whom I trust

whom I trust, the wor-ker of my wealth:

- in whom I - trust, the wor-ker of my wealth: My re-fuge,

I - trust, the wor-ker of my wealth:

God, my rock in whom I trust, the wor-ker of my wealth:

the wor-ker of my wealth: My

My re-fuge, buc-ker, and my shield, the horn

buc-ker, and my shield, the horn of

My re-fuge, buc-ker and my shield, the

My re-fuge buc-ker, and my shield the horn of

re-fuge, buc-ker and my shield - the horn of

Handwritten musical score for five voices, each with a treble or bass clef. The lyrics are:

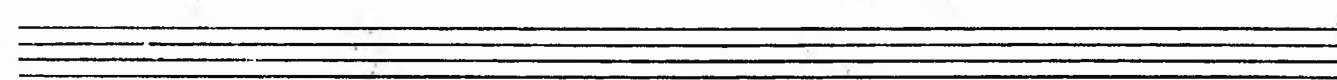
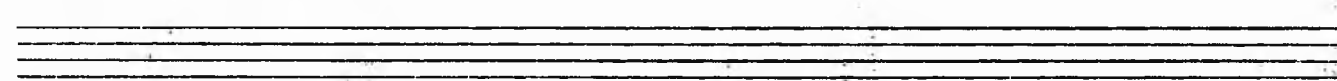
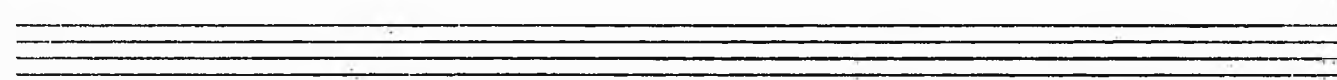
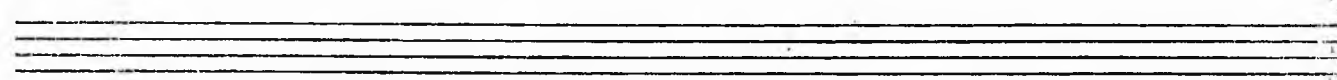
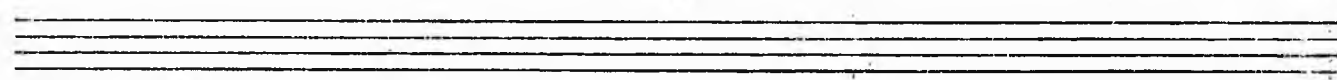
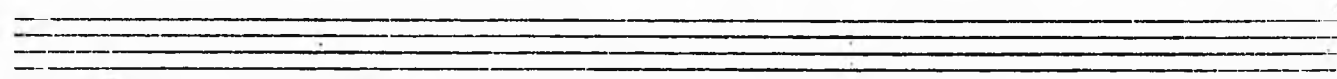
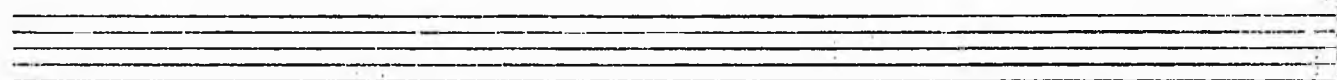
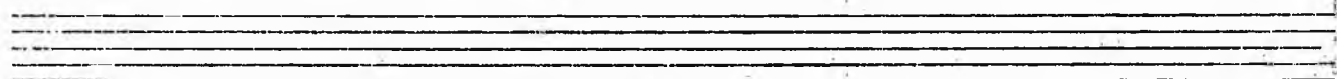
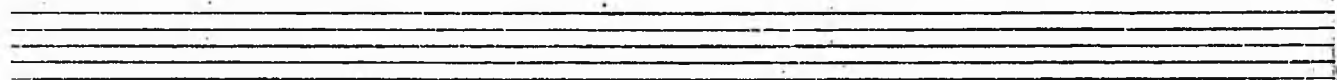
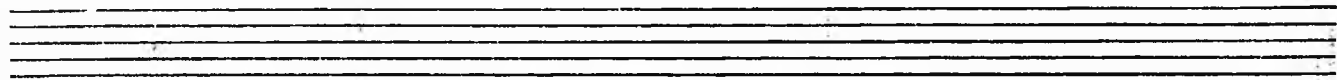
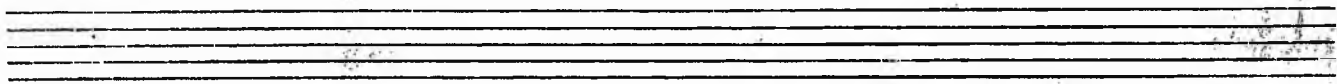
of all my health.]

all my - health.]

horn of all my health.]

all my health.]

all my - health.]



13. PSALM 21 IN REPORTS

51

ANON

CHURCH PART

Soprano: Trable [O Lord how joy-ful is the king -

Alto: Contra [O Lord how joy-ful is the king in

Tenor: Tenor [O Lord how joy-ful is the king

Bass: Bassus [O Lord how joy-ful is the king

5

- in thy strength and thy power! How

- thy strength and thy power! How vehe-ment-ly doth

in thy strength and thy power! How vehe-ment-ly doth he - re - joice in

in thy strength and thy power! How vehe-ment-ly doth he - re -

vehe-ment-ly doth he re-joyce in thee his Sa - vi - our!]

he re-joyce in thee - his Sa - vi - our!]

- thee doth he - re-joyce in - thee his Sa - viour!]

-joyce in thee - his Sa-vi - our, in thee his - Sa - vi - our!]

Empty musical staves for accompaniment or additional parts.

14. PSALM 113 IN REPORTS [CLAUDE GONDIMEL]

S Treble [Ye chil-dren who do serve the Lord Praise ye

A Contra [Ye chil-dren who do serve the Lord Praise ye -

T CHURCH PART Tenor [Ye chil-dren who do serve the Lord

B Bassus [Ye chil-dren who do serve the Lord - Praise

his Name with - one - ac - cord: Yea, bles-sed be al-

his Name with - one ac - cord: Yea, bles-sed, bles-sed be al-

Praise ye his Name with one ac - cord: Yea, bles - sed

ye his Name with - one ac - cord: Yea, bles-sed, bles-sed - be al-

10

- ways his - Name. Who from the ri-sing of the sun,

- ways - his Name. Who from the ri-sing of the sun, Till it re-

be al-ways his Name. Who from the ri-sing of the

- ways his Name. Who from the

15

Till it re-turn where it be-gun, Is to

turn where it be-gun, till it re-turn where it be-gun

sun Till it re-turn where it be-gun

ri-sing of the sun, Till it re-turn where it be-gun- Is

- be prai-sed with great- fame, - with great
Is to be prai-sed with great- fame. The lord all
Is to be prai-sed with great fame. The lord all
to be prai-sed with great fame. The lord all peo-ple doth sur-

²⁰
fame. The lord all peo-ple doth sur-mount, As for his glo-ry
peo-ple doth sur-mount, As for his glo-ry we-may
peo-ple doth sur-mount, As for his glo-ry we may
-mount, As for his glo-ry we may count

25

we may count A-bove - the Hea - vens high to be. With

- count A - bove the Hea - vens to be. With God the

count A - bove the Hea - vens high to be.

A - bove the - Hea - vens high to be.

30

God the Lord - who may com-pare? Whose dwell-ings in the Hea -

Lord who - - may - com-pare? Whose dwell-ings in the - Hea -

With God the Lord who may com-pare? Whose dwell-ings

With God the Lord who may com-pare? Whose dwell-ings

35

- vens are, Of - such great power and force is

- vens - are, Of such great power and force - is -

8 in the Hea-vens are, Of such great power and force is

in the Hea- vens are, Of such great power and force is

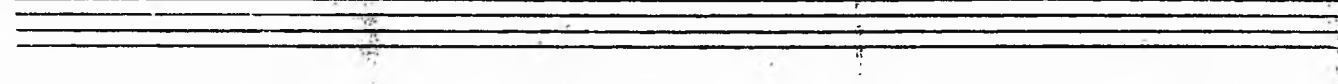
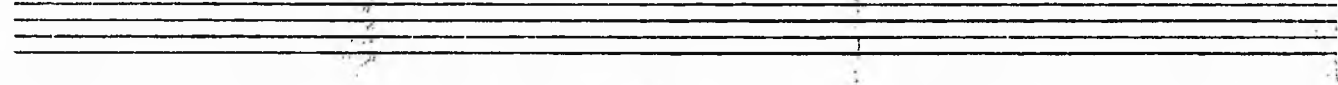
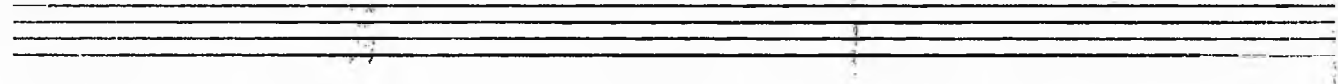
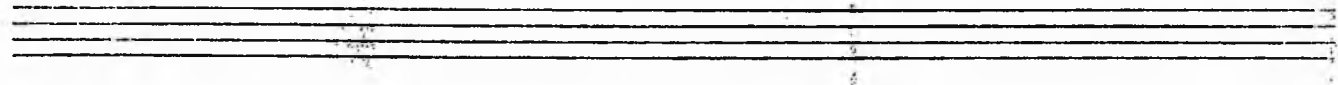
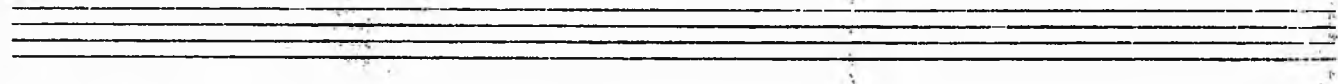
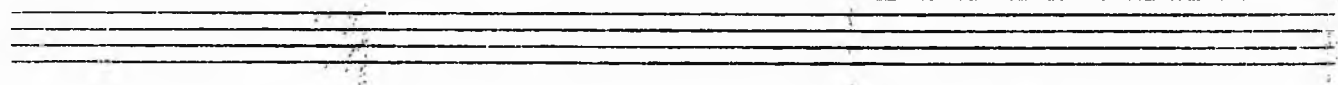
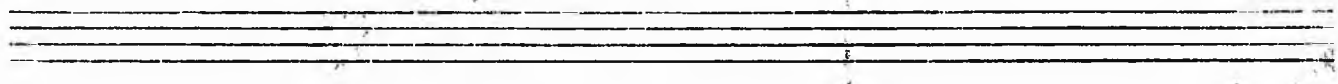
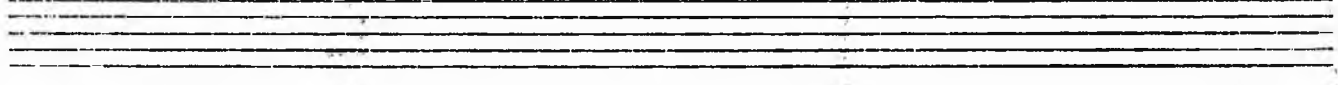
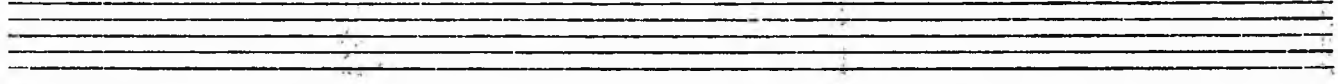
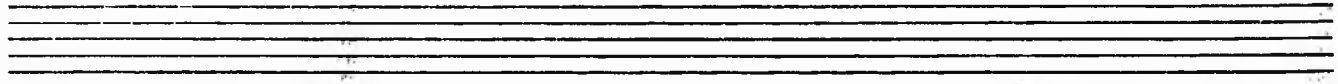
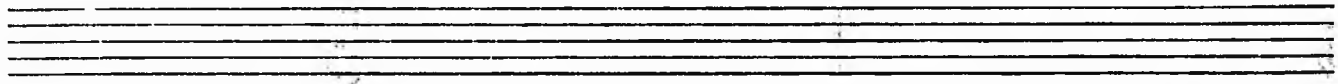
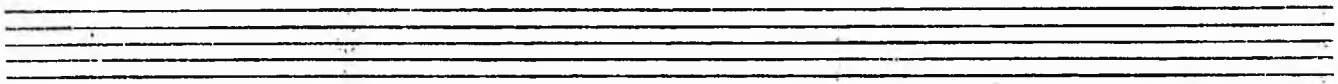
he.]

he.]

he.]

he.]

he.]



15. PSALM 116 IN REPORTS

59

ANON.

S Treble [I love the lord, be-cause my voice

A Contra [I love the lord be-cause my- voice

T CHURCH PART Tenor [I love the lord- be-cause my

B Bassus [I love the lord, be-cause my

and pray - er heard hath he. When in my days I call'd -

and pray-er heard - hath he. When in my days I call'd -

voice and pray-er heard hath he. When in my days I

voice and pray-er heard hath he. When in my days I

on him, he bow'd his ear to me. Even when the snares of
 on him, he bow'd his ear - to me. Even when the
 call'd on him, he bow'd his - ear to me. Even when the
 call'd on - him, he bow'd his ear to me. Even when the

cru- el death, a-bout be-set - me round:
 snares of- cru- el death, be-set me - round: When
 snares of cru-el death, a - bout be-set me round: When
 snares of cru-el death, a - bout be-set - me round: When pains

When pains of hell me caught, and when I woe and sor-row

pains of - hell me caught, and when I woe and sor-row

pains of hell me caught, and when I woe and sor-row

- of hell me caught, and when I woe and sor-row

found.]

found.]

found.]

found.]

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

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9. The ninth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

11. The eleventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

12. The twelfth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

16. PSALM 120 IN REPORTS

ANON.

CHURCH PART

Contra [In trouble and in thrall Un -

Treble [In trou-ble and in thrall Un -

Tenor [In trou-ble and in thrall Un -

Bassus [In trou-ble and in thrall Un -

to the Lord I call, And he doth me com-fort.

to the-Lord I call, And he doth me com-fort. De - li - ver

to the-Lord I call, And he doth me com-fort. De - li - ver

to the-Lord I call, And he doth me com-fort. De - li - ver

De - li - ver me, I say, from li - ars lips al - way, And

me, I say, De - li - ver me, I say, from li - ars lips al - way, And

me, I say, De - li - ver me, I say, from li - ars lips al - way, And

me, I say, De - li - ver me, I say, from li - ars lips al - way, And

tongues of false re - port. De - li - ver

tongues of false re - port. De - li - ver me, I say, De - li - ver

tongues of false re - port. De - li - ver me, I say, De - li - ver

tongues of false re - port. De - li - ver me, I say, De - li - ver

me, I say, from li-ars lips al-way, And tongues of false re-port.]

me, I say, from li-ars lips al-way, And tongues of false re-port.]

me, I say, from li-ars lips al-way, And tongues of false re-port.]

me, I say, from li-ars lips al-way, And tongues of false re-port.]

17. PSALM 137 IN REPORTS [ANDREW BLACKHALL]

S or A Treble [When as we sat in Ba-by-lon,

T1 Contra [When as we sat in Ba-by-lon,

T2 CHURCH PART Tenor [When as we sat in Ba-by-

B Bassus [When as we

the ri-vers round a-bout,

the ri-vers round a-bout And in re-

-lon, the ri-vers round a-bout, And

sat in Ba-by lon, the ri-vers round a-bout, And in re-mem-

And in re-mem-brance of Sy-on the tears
 -mem-brance of Sy-on the - tears of-grief - brast out: We
 in re-mem- brance of Sy-on the tears of grief
 -brance of Sy-on the tears of grief brast out.

of grief bra - st out We hang'd
 hang'd our harps and in - stru - ments
 brast out: We hang'd our harps and
 We hang'd our harps and in -

- our harps and in - stru-ments the trees - u - pon:

the wil - low trees u - pon: For in that

in - stru-ments the wil-low trees up - on:

-stru - ments the wil-low trees u - pon: For

for in that place men for - their - use had

place men for - thier - use had plan - ted

For in that place men for their use had

in - that place men for their use had

Handwritten musical score for four voices, page 69. The score consists of four staves, each with a vocal line and lyrics. The lyrics are: "plan-ted ma - ny one." The music is written in a simple, handwritten style. The first staff is in treble clef, the second in alto clef, the third in bass clef, and the fourth in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score ends with a double bar line on each staff.

plan-ted ma - ny one.]

ma - ny one.]

plan-ted ma - ny one.]

plan-ted ma - ny one.]

18. PSALM 5

71

ANDREW KEMP

S *Triplex* In-cline thine ears un-to my words, O Lord my plaint con-

A *Contra* In-cline thine ears un-to my words, O Lord my plaint con-

T *CHURCH PART Tenor* In-cline thine ears un-to my words, O Lord my plaint con-

B *Bassus* In-cline thine ears un-to my words, O Lord my plaint con-

-sider : And hear my voice my King my God, to thee I make my prayer.

-sider : And hear my voice my King my God, to thee I make my prayer.

-sider : And hear my voice my King my God, to thee I make my prayer.

-sider : And hear my voice my King my God, to thee I make my prayer.

19. [PSALM 6]

72

ANON.

S or A Triplex Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though

T' Contra Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though

T² CHURCH PART Tenor Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though

B Bassus Lord in thy wrath re-prove me not though

I de-serve thine ire; Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage,

I de-serve thine ire; Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage,

I de-serve thine ire; Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage,

I de-serve thine ire; Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage,

O Lord I thee de - -sire. For I am weak

O Lord I thee de - -sire. For I am weak

O Lord I thee de - -sire. For I am weak

O Lord I thee de - -sire. For I am weak

there-fore O Lord of mer - cy me for-bear: And

there-fore O Lord of mer - cy me for-bear: And

there-fore O Lord of mer - cy me for-bear: And

there-fore O Lord of mer - cy me for-bear: And

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "heal me Lord". The score is written in four parts on four staves. The lyrics are: "heal me - Lord, - for why thou knowst, My bones do". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and half notes) and rests. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures.

heal me - Lord, - for why thou knowst, My bones do

heal me Lord, for why thou - knowst, My bones do

heal me Lord, for why thou knowst, my bones do

heal me lord, for why thou knowst, My bones do.

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "quake for fear". The score is written in four parts on four staves. The lyrics are: "quake for fear". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and half notes) and rests. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures.

quake for fear.

quake for fear.

quake for fear.

quake - for fear.

20. PSALM 8

ANON.

S
A

Treble

Contra

Tenor

Bassus

CHURCH PART

God our Lord how

won-der-ful are thy works ev-ery-where.

Whose fame sur-mounts in dig-ni-ty,

a - bove the Hea-vens clear. Even by the moun-tains

15
of suck-ing babes, thou wilt con-found thy foes:

20
For in these babes thy might is seen,

25
thy graces - they dis-close.

21. PSALM 15

ANON.

S
A
R
b
Treble

Contra

T
B
R
b
Tenor

Bassus

CHURCH PART

Lord, with- in thy

5

tab - er - na - cle who shall in - ha - bit - still ?

10

Or whom wilt thou re - ceive to dwell In thy most

ho - ly hill ? The man whose life is un - cor - rupt,

15

whose works are just and straight: Whose heart doth

20

think the ve-ry truth, Whose tongue speaks no de-

25

ceit.

22. PSALM 23

DAVID PEEBLES

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 23, David Peebles. The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "The Lord is on-".

Below the vocal staves, the words "Cantus" and "Altus" are written under the Soprano and Alto staves respectively, and "Tenor" and "Bassus" are written under the Tenor and Bass staves respectively.

A "CHURCH PART" is indicated for the Tenor and Bass staves, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 23, David Peebles. The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "on-ly my sup-port, and The that doth me".

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 23, David Peebles. The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "feed: How can I then lack any".

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 23, David Peebles. The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "-thing where - of I stand in need?".

23.

PSALM

23

80

ANDREW KEMP

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: *Triplex* and *Contra*.
 Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: *Tenor* and *Bassus*.
 The vocal parts are written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The lyrics for the first system are: "He doth me fold in".

Continuation of the vocal parts. The lyrics for the second system are: "coats most safe the ten - der grass fast".

Continuation of the vocal parts. The lyrics for the third system are: "by: And af - ter driveth me to the".

Continuation of the vocal parts. The lyrics for the fourth system are: "streams which run most - plea - sant. 4th ly.".

24. PSALM 27

31

DAVID PEEBLES

Cantus The lord my light and health - will be,

 Altus The lord my light and health - will be,

 Tenor CHURCH PARTY The lord my - light and health will be,

 Bassus The Lord my light and health will be,

For what then should I - be dis-mayed?

 For what then should I be dis-mayed?

 For what then should I be dis-mayed?

 For what then should I be dis-mayed?

My strength and life al-so - is he, Of whom

My strength and life al-so - is he, Of whom

My strength and - life al-so is he, Of whom

My strength and life al-so is he, Of whom

then should I - be a - fraid ? When that my foes

then should I be a - fraid ? When that my foes

then should I be a - fraid ? When that my foes -

then should I be - a - fraid ? When that my foes

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The lyrics are: (men vile and vain) Ap-proach-ed near - my flesh to. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The first four measures contain the phrase "(men vile and vain)" and the next four measures contain "Ap-proach-ed near - my flesh to".

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The lyrics are: eat: They stumb-led - in the self - same train,. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The first four measures contain the phrase "eat: They stumb-led - in the self - same train,". The word "eat:" is written below the first measure of each voice part.

25

Which they for me laid by de - cent.

Which they for me laid by de - cent.

Which they for me laid by de - cent.

Which they for me laid by de - cent.

25. PSALM 33

ANON.

S
 A Treble Contra
 T Tenor Bassus
 CHURCH PART

Ye right-eous in the

Lord re-joice, it is a seem-ly sight, that up-right

men with thank-ful voice should praise - the God of might. Praise

ye the Lord with harp and song, in psalms and plea-sant things

15

with lute and in-strument la-mong,

20

that sound - eth with ten strings.

26. PSALM 37

ANDREW KEMP

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: Triplex, Contra

Tenor (T) part: Tenor

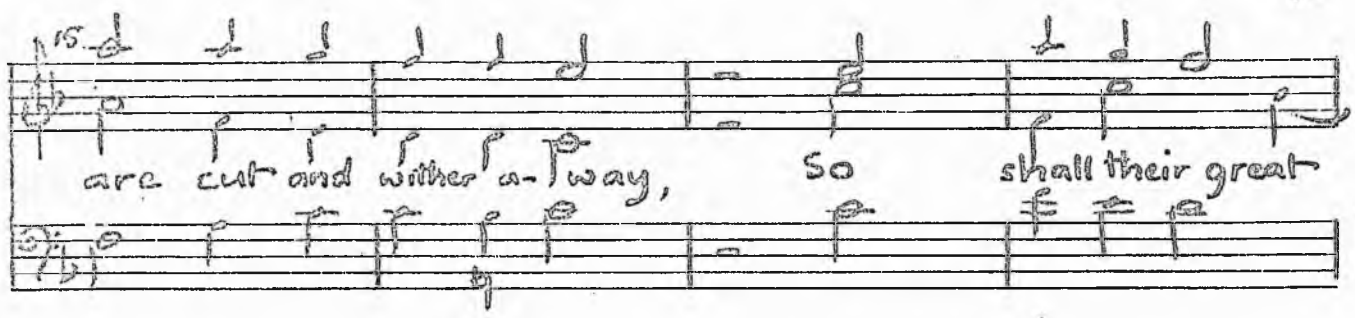
Church Part: Grudge not to see the

wick-ed men, in wealth to flour-ish still: Nor

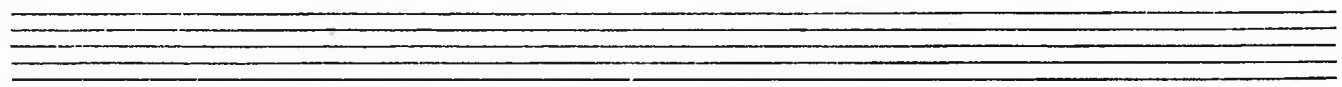
en-vy. such as

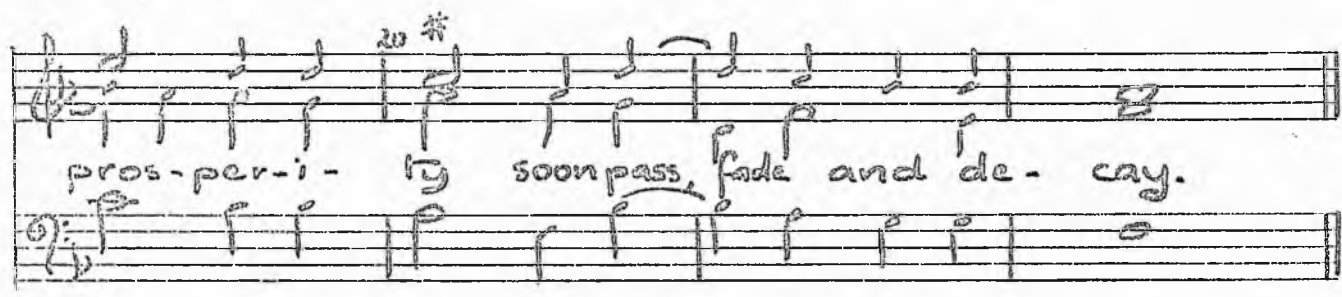
get-en-uy - vy such as to ill have bent and set their

will. For as green grass, and flourishing herbs

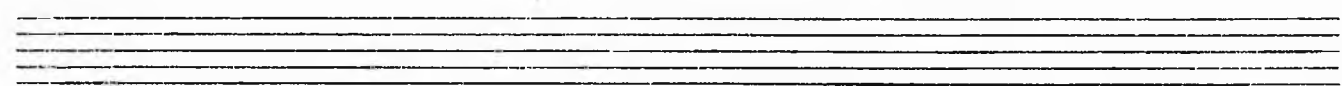
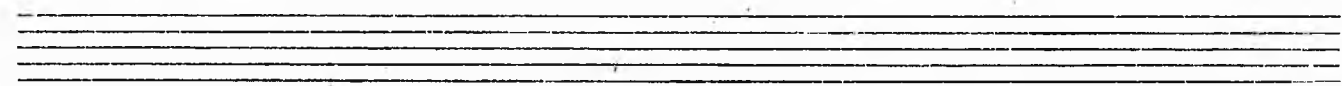
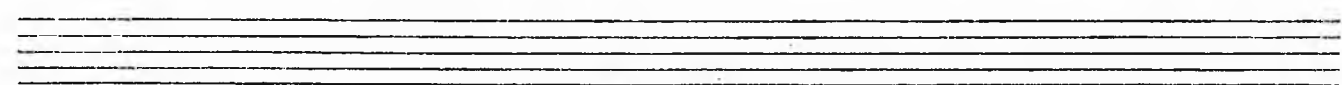

15. 

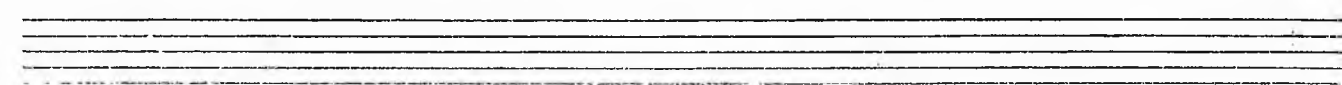
are cut and wither a-way, So shall their great



20. 

pros-per-i-ty soon pass, fade and de-cay.



27. PSALM 47

89

ANDREW KEMP

CHURCH PART

Triplex Let all folk with joy clap - hands and re -

Contra Let all folk with joy clap - hands and re -

Tenor Let all folk with joy clap - hands and re -

Bassus Let all folk with joy clap - hand and re -

-joice, And sing un-to God with - most cheer-ful

-joice, And sing un-to God with - most cheer-ful

-joice, And sing un-to God with - most cheer-ful

-joice, And sing un-to God with - most cheer-ful

voice. For high is the lord, and - feared to

voice. For high is the lord, and - feared to

voice. For high is the lord, and feared to

voice. For high is the lord, and feared to

be, The earth o-ver all a - great king is

be, The earth o-ver all a - great king is

be, The earth o-ver all a - great king is

be, The earth o-ver all a - great king is

he. In daunt-ing the folk he - hath so well

he. In daunt-ing the folk he - hath so well

he. In daunt-ing the folk he - hath so well

he. In daunt-ing the folk he - hath so well

220
wrought, That un- der our feet whole Na-tions are brought.

wrought, That un- der our feet whole Na-tions are brought.

wrought, That un- der our feet whole Na-tions are brought.

wrought, That un- der our feet whole Na-tions are brought.

ANON.

S
A

Treble

Contra

CHURCH PART

Tenor

Bassus

U Lord con - si - der

my dis - tress And now with speed some pi - ty take: my

10

sins de - face my - faults re - dress, Good Lord for thy great

mer - cy's sake. Wash me O Lord and make me clean

15

from this up - just and sin - ful act: And pu - ri -

20

fy yet once a - gain mine hair - gus crime and bloody

25

fact.

29. PSALM 51

ANDREW KEMP

Triplex Contra

CHURCH PART

Tenor

O Lord con-si - der

my dis-tress And now with speed some pi-ty take:

My sins de-face my faults re-dress, Good Lord for

my great mer-cy's sake. Wash me O Lord and

15 \flat

make me clean from this un-just and sin-ful act:

20 yet once a - gain

And pu-ri fy yet - once a - gain Mine
yet once a - gain

25 \sharp

hain-ous crime and blood-y fact.

30. PSALM 59

96

DAVID PEEBLES

Handwritten musical score for four voices: Cantus, Church Part, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "De - li - ver me, my God of #".

Cantus
De - li - ver me, my God of #

CHURCH PART
[Alto]
De - li - ver me, my God of #

[Tenor]
De - li - ver me, my God of #

Bassus
De - li - ver me, my God of #

Handwritten musical score for four voices. The lyrics are: "night, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies : And".

night, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies : And

night, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies : And

night, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies : And

night, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies : And

me de-fend in this my right, From them that

me de-fend in this my right, From them that

me de-fend in this my right, From them that

me de-fend in this my right, From them that

do a- gainst me rise: De- li - ver me from

do a- gainst me rise: De- li - ver me from

do a- gainst me rise: De- li - ver me from

do a- gainst me rise: De- li - ver me from

20

them that have De-light to work in-i-qui-

them that have De-light to work in-i-qui-

them that have De-light to work in-i-qui-

them that have De-light to work in-i-qui-

25

-ty: And from these blood-y men me ~~me~~ save That

-ty: And from these blood-y men me save That

-ty: And from these blood-y men me save That

-ty: And from these blood-y men me save That

Handwritten musical score for four voices, each with the lyrics "seek my soul with cru-el - ty." The notation is as follows:

- First Voice (Soprano):** Treble clef, 4/4 time signature. Notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (beamed eighth notes), F#4 (half). Lyrics: seek my soul with cru-el - ty.
- Second Voice (Alto):** Treble clef, 4/4 time signature. Notes: E4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4-E4 (beamed eighth notes), D#4 (half). Lyrics: seek my soul with cru - el - ty.
- Third Voice (Tenor):** Treble clef, 4/4 time signature. Notes: C4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4-C4 (beamed eighth notes), B3 (half). Lyrics: seek my soul with cru-el - ty.
- Fourth Voice (Bass):** Bass clef, 4/4 time signature. Notes: G2 (quarter), A2 (quarter), B2 (quarter), A2-G2 (beamed eighth notes), F2 (half). Lyrics: seek my soul with cru-el - ty.

Below the four staves are seven sets of empty five-line musical staves for additional parts.

31. PSALM 59

100

ANDREW KEMP

S
A

CHURCH PART
Triplex

Contra

Bassus

De - li - ver me, my God of

5

might, from dan - ger of mine en - e - mies :

10

And me de - fend in this my right, From

15

them that do a - gainst me rise : De -

24

li - ver me from them that have De-light to

25

work in - i - zui - ty : And from these

30

blood - y men me save That seek my soul with

crus - el - ty.

crus - el - ty.

32. PSALM 59

102.

ANON

Treble Contra

Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

But I will sing of

thy great power, And ear-ly will thy

mercies praise : For thou hast aye been

my strong tower And re-fuge in my

20

troub-lous days. To thee mine on-ly

25

strength I will There-fore sing psalms un-

30

-ces-sant-ly For God is my de-

35

fence, and still God most mer-ci-ful to me.

ANON

S Treble Al- though my soul hath - sharply been as-

A Quintus Al- though my soul hath sharply been as-

T Contra Al- though my - soul hath sharp-ly been as-

CHURCH PART Tenor Al- though my soul hath sharply been as-

B Bassus Al- though my soul hath sharply been as-

saul- ted, Yet to-wards God in si- lence have I

saul- ted, Yet to-wards God in si- lence have I

saul- ted, Yet to-wards God in si- lence have I

saul- ted, Yet to-wards God in si- lence have I

saul- ted, Yet to-wards God in si- lence have I

walk - ed : In whom a - lone all health ^{and} hope I - see.

walk - ed : In whom a - lone all health and hope I see.

- walk - ed : In whom a - lone all health I see.

walk - ed : In whom a - lone all health and hope I see.

walk - ed : In whom a - lone all health and hope I see.

He is mine health and my sal - va - tion sure,

He is mine health and my sal - va - tion sure,

He - is - mine health and my sal - va - tion sure,

He is mine health and my sal - va - tion sure,

He is mine health and my sal - va - tion sure,

My strong de-fence, which shall for e-ver en-dure,

My strong de-fence, which shall - for e-ver en-dure,

My strong de-fence, which shall for e-ver-en-dure,

My strong de-fence, which shall for e-ver en-dure,

My strong de-fence, which shall for e-ver en-dure,

There-fore a-fraid I need not much to be.

There-fore a-fraid I need not - much to be.

There-fore a-fraid I need - not be.

There-fore a-fraid I need not much to be.

There-fore a-fraid I need not much to be.

34. PSALM 67

107

JOHN BUCHAN

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: Cantus Altus

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: Tenor Bassus

Church part: Our God that is Lord, and

anth-or of grace, Turn to us poor souls his mer-

mer-ci - ful face. His blessings in - crease,

de - fend us with might And shew us his

Handwritten musical score for a vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The music is written on two staves. The vocal staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The piano staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: "love, and calm - te - nance bright." The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes, with a final measure containing a whole note. The piano accompaniment consists of a series of chords, primarily triads and dyads, with a final measure containing a whole note chord. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures.

love, and calm - te - nance bright.

35. PSALM 69

109

ANDREW KEMP

Save me O God and that with

CHURCH PART

Tenor Bassus

Triplex Contra

speed, the wa- ters flow full fast: So near my

soul do they pro-ceed, That I am sore a-ghast.

I stick full deep in filth and clay, where-as I feel too

15

ground: I fall in - to such floods, I say, that I

20

- am like be drown'd.

36.

PSALM 100

DAVID PEEBLES

S Cantus All people that on - earth do dwell,
 A or T Altus All people that on - earth do dwell,
 T Tenor CHURCH PART All people that on earth do dwell,
 B Bassus All people that on earth do dwell,

Sing to the lord with cheer - ful voice; Him
 Sing to the lord with cheer - ful voice; Him
 Sing to the lord with cheer - ful voice; Him
 Sing to the lord with cheer - ful voice; Him

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) across measures 10 and 11. The lyrics are: "serve with fear, his - praise forth tell, Come ye". The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and various note values including quarter, eighth, and half notes, as well as rests. Measure 10 contains the first part of the phrase, and measure 11 contains the second part. The lyrics are written below the corresponding staves.

serve with fear, his - praise forth tell, Come ye

serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye

serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye

serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) across measures 12 and 13. The lyrics are: "be - fore him - and re - joice." The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and various note values including quarter, eighth, and half notes, as well as rests. Measure 12 contains the first part of the phrase, and measure 13 contains the second part. The lyrics are written below the corresponding staves.

be - fore him - and re - joice.

be - fore him and re - joice.

be - fore him and re - joice.

be - fore him and re - joice.

37. PSALM 100

113

ANON.

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts are written on a single staff with a treble clef. The Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts are written on a single staff with a bass clef. The lyrics are: "The Lord ye know is God in -". A "CHURCH PART" is indicated above the Tenor and Bass parts.

Treble Contra
Tenor Bassus

5
- deed, With- out our aid he did us make: We

10
are his flock, he doth us feed, And for his

sheep he doth us take.

38. PSALM 103

119

DAVID PEEBLES

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: Cantus Altus

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

My soul give laud un-to the

Lord, my spirit shall do the same: And

all the se-crets of mine heart praise thy his ho-ly

Name. Give thanks un-to God for his gifts, shew not thy-

15 #

-self un- friend: And suf-fer got his be-ne-fits

20

to slip out of my mind.

39.

PSALM

112

116

DAVID PERLES

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: Cantus, Altus

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: Tenor, Bassus

CHURCH PART

The man is blest that God doth

5

fear, And that his laws doth love in-deed :

10

His feed on earth God will up-rear, And bless such

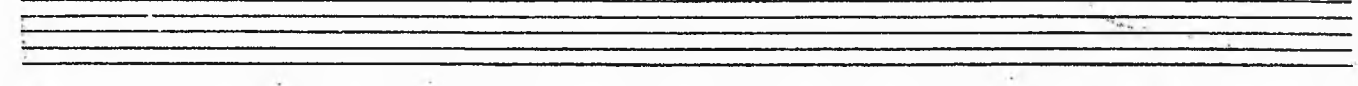
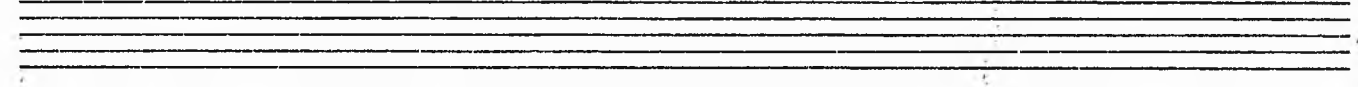
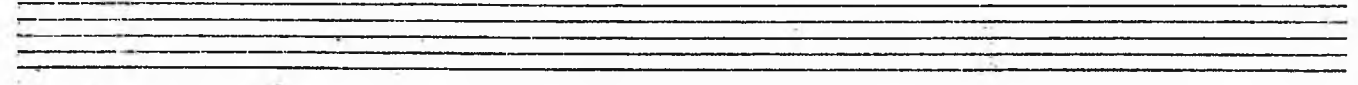
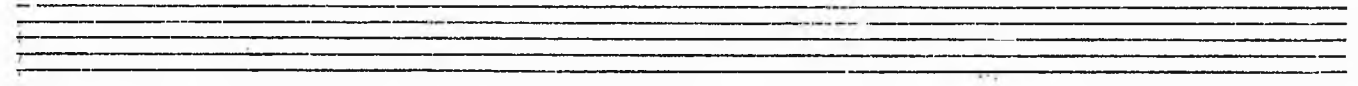
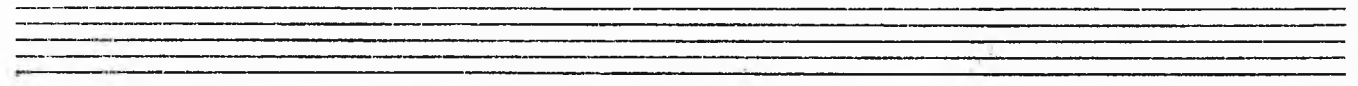
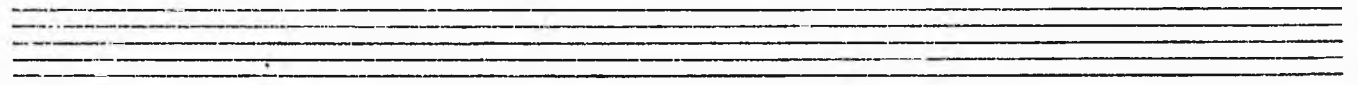
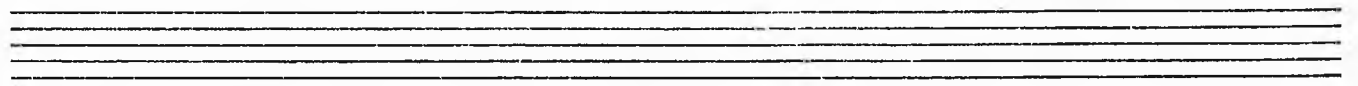
as from him pro-ceed. His house with good he will full-

16

-f-11,

His right-ous-ness en-dure shall still.

p



40. PSALM 118

118

DAVID PEEBLES

Cantus Give to the Lord all praise and hon-

Altus Give to the Lord all praise and hon-

CHURCH PART
Tenor Give to the Lord all praise and hon-

Bassus Give to the Lord all praise and hon-

-our, For he is gra-cious - and kind:

-our, For he is gra-cious and kind:

-our, For he is gra-ci-ous and kind:

-our, For he is gra-ci-ous and kind:

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in G major, 4/4 time. Measures 10-13. The lyrics are "yea, more his mer-cy and great fa-vour,". The melody is simple, using half and quarter notes.

yea, more his mer-cy and great fa-vour,
 yea, more his mer-cy and great fa-vour,
 yea, more his mer-cy and great fa-vour,
 yea, more his mer-cy and great fa-vour,

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in G major, 4/4 time. Measures 14-15. The lyrics are "Doth firm a-bide world with-out end. let Is-ra-". The melody continues with half and quarter notes.

Doth firm a-bide world with-out end. let Is-ra-
 Doth firm a-bide world with-out end. let Is-ra-
 Doth firm a-bide world with-out end. let Is-ra-
 Doth firm a-bide world with-out end. let Is-ra-

-el now say - that bold-ly, That his mer-

-el now say that bold - ly, That his mer-

-el now say that bold - ly That his mer-

-el now say that bold - ly That his mer-

-cies for e - ver dure, And let A-ron's whole

-cies for e - ver dure, And let A-ron's whole

-cies for e - ver dure, And let A-ron's whole

-cies for e - ver dure, And let A-ron's whole

25

- pro - gen - y, Con - fess the same sta - ble and

- pro - gen - y, Con - fess the same sta - ble and

- pro - gen - y, Con - fess the same sta - ble and

- pro - gen - y, Con - fess the same sta - ble and

sure.

sure.

sure.

sure.

41. PSALM 124.

122

[EDWARD MILLAR?]

Soprano (S) Treble
 Alto (A) Treble
 Tenor (T) Bass
 Bass (B) Bass

Contra

Now Is-ra-el may say, and

that tru-ly, If that the Lord had not our cause main-tained,

If that the Lord had not our right sus-tained, When all the world a-gainst us

furious-ly Made their up-roars, and said we should all die.

42. PSALM 124

ANDREW KEMP.

S or A CHURCH PART
 Triplex
 Now long a-go they had de-vour'd us

T' Contra
 Now long a-go they had de-vour'd us

T² Tenor
 Now long a-go they had de-vour'd us

B Bassus
 Now long a-go they had de-vour'd us

all, And swallow'd quick, for ought that we

all, And swallow'd quick, for ought that we

all, And swallow'd quick, for ought that we

all, And swallow'd quick, for ought that we

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) across four staves. The music is in treble and bass clefs. The lyrics are: "could deem, Such was their rage, as we might". Measure 10 is marked with a '10' above the staff. The notation includes various note values and rests.

could deem, Such was their rage, as we might

- could deem, Such was their rage, as we might

could deem, Such was their rage as we might

could deem, Such was their rage as we might

Handwritten musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) across four staves. The music is in treble and bass clefs. The lyrics are: "- well es- teem: And as the floods with". Measure 15 is marked with a '15' above the staff. The notation includes various note values and rests.

- well es- teem: And as the floods with

- well es- teem: And as the floods with

- well es- teem: And as the floods with

- well es- teem: And as the floods with

mighty force do fall, So had they now our life even

mighty force do fall, So had they now our life

mighty force do fall, So had they now our life even

mighty force do fall, So had they now our life even

brought to thrall.

even brought to thrall.

brought to thrall.

brought to thrall.

43. PSALM 128

JOHN BUCHAN

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: Cantus Altus

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

Blessed art thou that fear-

-est God, and walkest in his way: For of thy

labour thou shalt eat, hap-py art thou I say.

like fruitful vines on thine house - sides, doth thy wife spring

15

out: thy child-ren stand like olive plants thy

20

ta-ble round a-bout.

44. PSALM 145

ANON

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts are written on a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics "Lord thou art my" are written below the staff. The Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts are written on a single staff with a bass clef. The lyrics "God and king, Un-doubt-ed - ly, I will thee praise: I" are written below the staff. The word "CHURCH PART" is written above the Tenor and Bass staves.

Treble Contra

Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

Lord thou art my

God and king, Un-doubt-ed - ly, I will thee praise: I

Will ex-tol, and blessings sing, Un- to thy ho-ly Name al-

-ways. From day to day I will thee bless, And laud thy

Will ex-tol, and blessings sing, Un- to thy ho-ly Name al-

-ways. From day to day I will thee bless, And laud thy

Will ex-tol, and blessings sing, Un- to thy ho-ly Name al-

-ways. From day to day I will thee bless, And laud thy

15

Name World without end: For great is God, most worthy praise,

20

Whose greatness none may comprehend.

45. PSALM 150

130

DAVID PEEBLES

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts: *Cantus*

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts: *Altus*

Church Part: *Yield un-to God the mighty*

Tenor and Bass parts: *Tenor* and *Bassus*

Lord praise him in his sanctu-ary : And praise him

in the fir-ma-ment, which shews his power on high. Ad-

-vance his Name and praise him in his mighty acts al-ways :

15

Ac-cord-ing To his ex-cel-lence To of greatness give Him

praise.

46. PSALM 150

ANON.

Treble Contra

Tenor Bassus

His praises with the

CHURCH PART

5

princely noise of sounding trumpets blow : Praise him u-

10

pon the vi - ol, and u - pon the harp al - so. Praise him with

tim - brel and with flute, or - gans, and vir - gin - als : With

15

sounding cymbals praise ye him, praise him with loud cym-bals.

47. PSALM 150

134

ANDREW KEMP

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 150, measures 1-4. The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "What-e-ver hath the be-ne-".

Labels below the staves: Triplex, Contra, Tenor, Bassus.

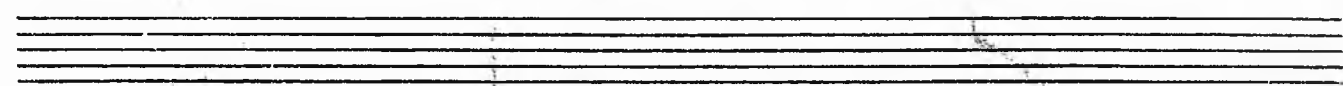
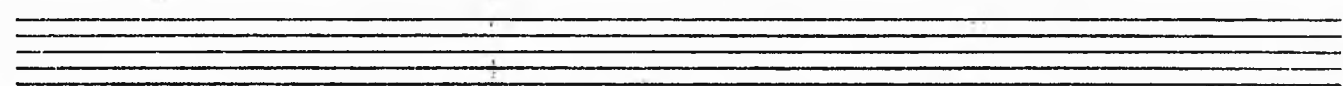
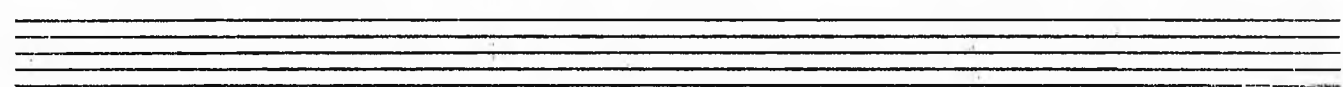
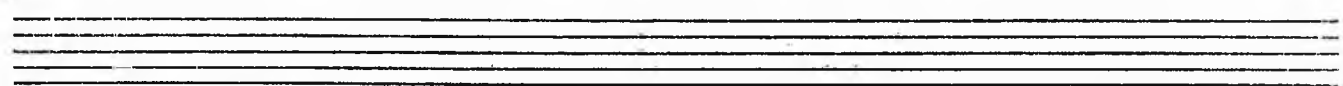
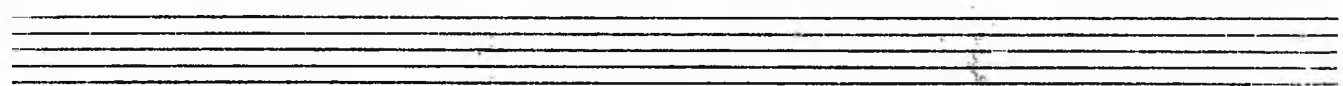
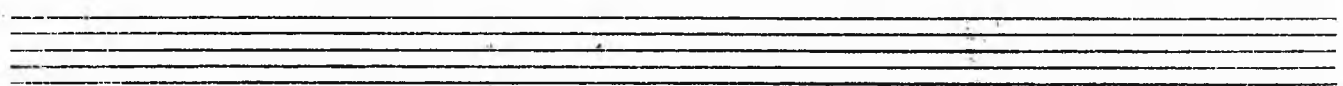
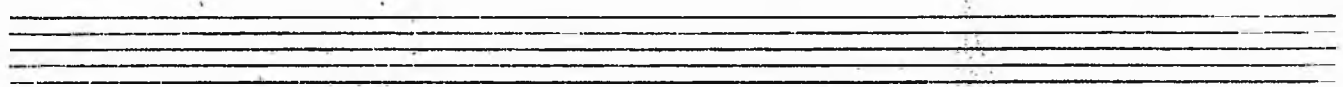
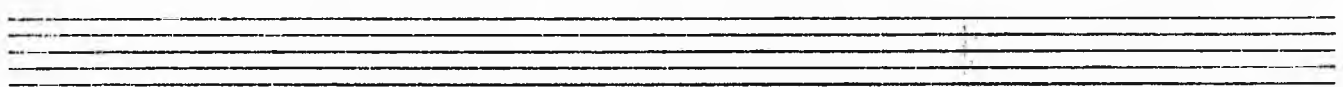
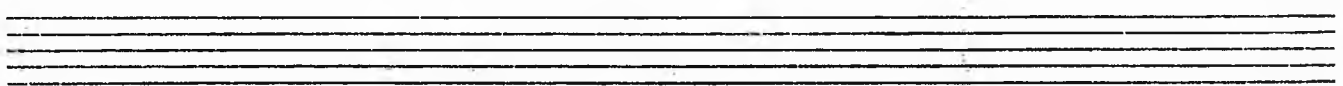
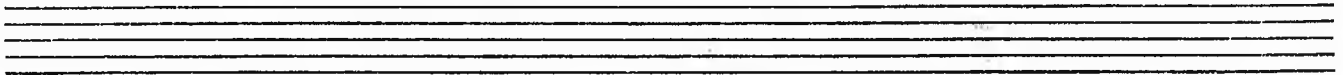
A "CHURCH PART" label is written above the Bass staff in measure 4.

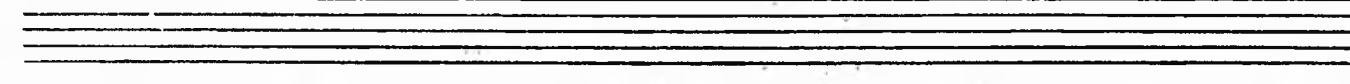
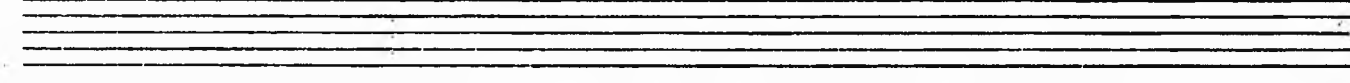
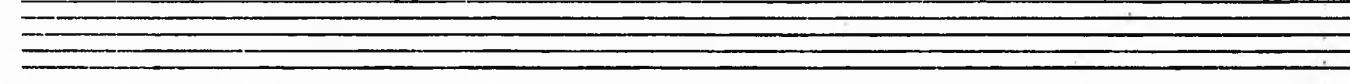
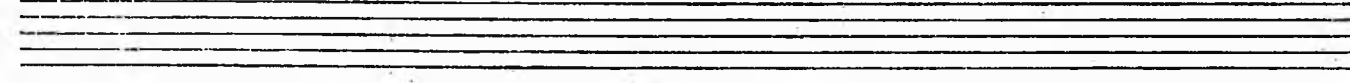
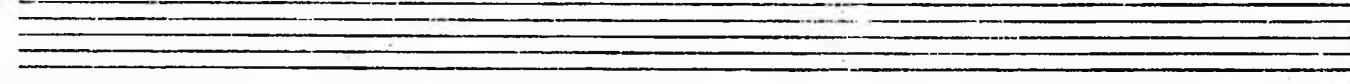
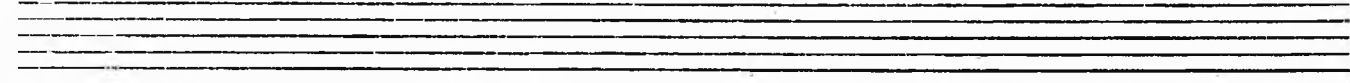
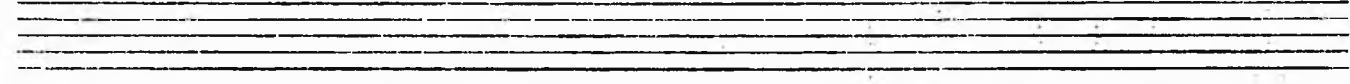
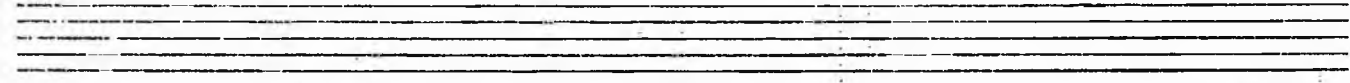
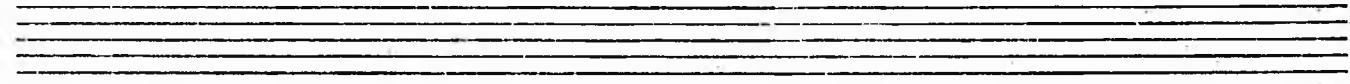
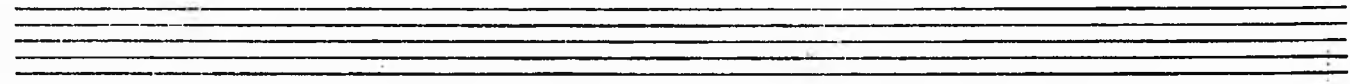
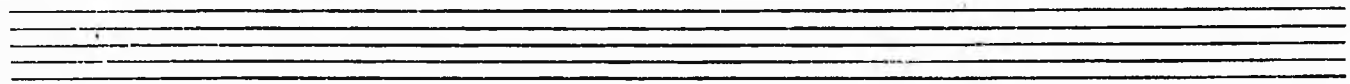
Handwritten musical score for Psalm 150, measures 5-8. The lyrics are: "-fit of breathing, praise the Lord: to praise the Name of".

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 150, measures 9-12. The lyrics are: "God the Lord agree with one ac-cord. To Fa-ther,".

Handwritten musical score for Psalm 150, measures 13-16. The lyrics are: "Son and Holy Ghost, the God whom we a-dore: Be".

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff. The treble clef staff begins with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a time signature of 15/8. The lyrics "glo-ry, as it was, and is, and shall be e-ver - more." are written below the notes. The bass clef staff contains a single whole note at the end of the line.





48. OLD COMMON TUNE

137

ANON.

S
A Treble

Contra

T Tenor

CHURCH PART

All laud and praise with heart and

voice O Lord I give to thee: Who didst not make my

10

foes re-joice but hast ex-alt-ed me.

49. CHESHIRE TUNE

[JOHN FARMER]

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) staves: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), time signature 4/4. Lyrics: "The Lord is our de-".

Tenor (T) and Bass (B) staves: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), time signature 4/4. Lyrics: "The Lord is our de-".

CHURCH PART: Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), time signature 4/4. Lyrics: "The Lord is our de-".

First system of the Church Part: Treble and Bass staves. Lyrics: "fence and aid, the strength where-by we stand: When we were".

Second system of the Church Part: Treble and Bass staves. Lyrics: "we were much dis-mayed, we found his help at hand.".

50. DUNFERMLINE TUNE

139

S
A Treble

Contra

T' Quintus

T2 B Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

ANON.
come let us lift

up our voice, And sing Tun-to the Lord: In him our

Rock of health re-joice, let us - with one ac- cord.

57. DURHAM TUNE

ANON.

S
A

Treble

Contra

T
B

Tenor

Bassus

CHURCH PART

God, be-hold mine

heart and tongue they both pre- par- ed be: My voice ad-

-vance will in song, and give all praise to thee.

10

52. GLENLUCE TUNE

ANON.

S
A Treble Contra

T
B Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

ye men on earth in God

re - joice, With praise set forth his Name: Ex - tol his

10

might with heart and voice, give glo - ry to the same.

53. MARTYRS TUNE

142

ANON.

Treble Counter

Tenor Bassus

Send out thy light

CHURCH PART

and eke thy truth, and lead me with thy grace: Which

may con-duct me to thy hill, and to thy dwell-ing place.

54. WIGTON TUNE

ANON.

Soprano (S) Treble
 Alto (A) Treble
 Tenor (T) Bass
 Bass (B) Bass

CHURCH PART

Lord, bow thine ear to

5

my re-quest, and hear me by and by: With grievous

10

pain and grief op-pressed, I full poor and weak am

55. WINCHESTER TUNE

144

ANON.

Treble Contra

Tenor Bassus

CHURCH PART

To sing the mer-cies

of the Lord, my tongue shall ne-ver spare: And with my

mouth from age To age thy truth I will de-clare.

CRITICAL COMMENTARYSourcesSt. Andrews Psalter Part-Books

TWC1	'Tribbill' part-book, first set
TWC2	<u>/Cantus/</u> part-book, second set
TWA	<u>/Altus/</u> part-book
TWQ	<u>/Quintus/</u> part-book
TWT	'Tennowr' part-book
TWB1	<u>/Bassus/</u> part-book, first set
TWB2	<u>/Bassus/</u> part-book, second set
AM	<u>The Art of Mvsic collectit ovt of all Ancient Doctovris of Mvsic</u>
DB	<u>Duncan Burnett's Music Book</u>
DM	<u>David Melvill's Bassus Part-Book</u>
1635	<u>The Psalmes of David, Edinburgh, 1635</u>
RE	<u>Robert Edward's Commonplace Book</u>
WS	<u>William Stirling's Cantus Part-Book</u>

Abbreviations

A	Alto, Altus
B	Bass, Bassus
<u>c</u>	crotchet
<u>Frost</u>	M.Frost, <u>English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes 1543 - 1677</u> , Oxford, 1953
<u>m</u>	minim
Metres:	

C.M. Common metre	D.C.M. Double Common metre
L.M. Long metre	D.L.M. Double long metre
5.5.5.5.D	5.5.5.5. Triple
6.6.6.6.D	8.7.8.7.D
8.8.8.8.8.8.	9.8.9.8.D
10.10.10.10.10.	11.11.10.11.11.10.

Ps.	psalm
Q	Quintus
<u>q</u>	quaver
S	Soprano, Treble, Triplex
s.c.	signum congruentiae
T	Tenor
v(v)	verse(s)

Apparatus criticus

The apparatus criticus is concisely abbreviated, always following this order of reference:

- (1) source(s)
- (2) source of psalm-tune cantus firmus (where applicable)
- (3) author of word-text
- (4) amendment of source - thus: bar number. part. number
of note, new reading. old reading
- (5) editor's comment

Names of parts are in capitals with a figure following if necessary, e.g. T² - second tenor. Symbols for the note values, which are those of the transcriptions, are in small underlined letters. The church part (or psalm tune) is in the tenor, unless noted otherwise.

ANTHEMS

1. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWQ, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.
DM (fol. 17, no. 33)

Metrical version of Ps. 101 by William Kethe. The words are occasionally different from those in the printed psalters.

14. T. 2 : E flat for E. 17. B. 2 : C for B flat.^{35. Q. 1 D for C}
56. S2. 3 : D for C. 120. T. 3 : E for F.

In each of the part-books Blackhall is noted as being the composer. Wood notes at the end of the canticles in TWC2:

The end of the psalmes with the canticles & foloveth tway or thre gud psalmes voluntary without tenors. Composit be maister Andro blackhall minister of Mussilburgh.

And in TWQ, at the end of the composition:

finis qd. maister Andro blackhall in halyrud-hous, now minister of Mussilburgh, 1569.
Giffin in propyne to the Kyng.

Blackhall therefore dedicated this anthem to the infant King James VI of Scotland in 1569. The other part-books (except TWB2 which has 1568) confirm the year of composition as being 1569. In TWC1 Wood says:

Psalmes Cl v. pairts verray curiously set.

See vol. I. p. 171.

2. TWC1, TWA, TWT, TWB1.

Word text by Christopher Goodman (1520? - 1603) - member of an old Cheshire family; worked in Geneva; associated with John Knox, arrived in Scotland in September 1559; minister in St. Andrews from July 1560 until 1564. He 'wes mervellous weill lykit of in this congregation bayth in land and burgh'. (TWT)

45. T. 1. : c for m.

Wood notes in TWA:

Maister gudman, sumtyme minister of Sanctandrous gave this letter to Andro Kempe, maister of the sang scule; to set it in four pairtis. It is verray hard till it be thryse or four tymis weill and rychly sung.

See vol. I. p. 171.

CANTICLES AND SPIRITUAL SONGS

3. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1560.

The anon. metrical version of St. Luke's Gospel ch. I,
(v) 46-55 first appeared in the 1560 English Psalter, D.C.M.

20. S. 2 : two c for m.

A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott is found in Fourteen Psalm-Settings of the early Reformed Church in Scotland, O.U.P. 1960, pp 26-7.

4. TWC1, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556, where it is set to Ps. 19. D.C.M.

The anon. metrical version of St. Luke's Gospel ch. II,
(v) 29-32 first appeared in the 1560 English Psalter.

5. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : Klug's Gesangbuch, 1543 (Frost, p.212). L.M.

Word text by Robert Wisdom.

In TWB1 and TWB2, this piece is assigned to Blackhall. In TWC2 Angus is noted as composer. The style suggests Angus.

6. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : Bourgeois' Psalter, 1547. L.M.

Word text by William Whittingham, English Psalter 1561.

7. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : Psalmen - - - Strassburg - - - Wolff Kopphl 1537. (Frost, p.212) 8. 7. 8. 7. D.

Word text by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London; English Psalter, 1561.

On the breves in the tenor part TWT notes:

Sing thir breiuis also semibreues.

(c.f. 'Our Father which in heaven art' where there is an instruction:

Sing this breivis semibreivis, for it wil be utherwayis to o hevy and doylit.)

8. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1561, D.C.M.

Word text by Thomas Norton, English Psalter, 1561.

4. A. 2 and 3 : two c for m. 9. A. 3 : A for B flat.

11. B. 2 and 3 : two c for m. 17. A. 1 : c for m.

9. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1562, 6. 6. 6. 6. D.

Word text - Anon - Whole Booke of Psalmes, London, 1562.

part here is in the treble. Wood notes in TWB1:

qd. Kemp and Not [it] be his awin hand and
not wt. myn.

PSALMS IN REPORTS

The eight 'Psalmes in Reports' are transcribed and edited from the Scottish Psalter of 1635, where they are found grouped together before the psalter proper. The copies used for these transcriptions are those in St. Andrews University Library (Typ. B.E. C35 HP - bound in leather and tooled with gold) and in the National Library of Scotland (F.7 f.28.). Only the latter contains the preface 'to the Gentle Reader'. (See vol. I, pp. 221-24.)

10. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556.

Word text by Thomas Sternhold; v. 1 and 2.

A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott is found in Musica Britannica xv
no. 24.

11. 1635

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1625, tune - 'Bon-Accord'

Word text by Sternhold; v. 1.

5. all parts 1 : s.c.

The church part is in the treble. In the source it is misplaced in the tenor.

12. 1635

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1561.

Word text by Sternhold ; v.1 and 2.

5. A. 1 : $\frac{4}{2}$ for # . 12. S. 1 : $\frac{4}{2}$ for # .

16. S. 2 : $\frac{4}{2}$ for # . 19. S. 1 : $\frac{4}{2}$ for # .

19. T2 3 : $\frac{4}{2}$ for # .

see vol. I, p. 170.

The tenor is marked as the church part in the source but the treble is closer to the original ps. tune.

A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott is found in Musica Britannica xv
no. 20, and also in his Fourteen Psalm-Settings, pp. 6-8.

13. 1635

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1633, called 'Montrosse tone'.

Word text by Sternhold; v. 1.

The church part is in the treble. In the source it is misplaced in the tenor.

14. 1635

Ps. tune : based on a tune from the German Psalter of 1526.

(Frost, p. 158)

Word text by John Hopkins; v. 1 to 5.

Goudimel is noted as composer in CL Psaumes de David
Claude Goudimel : 1580.

15. 1635

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1564/5.

Word text by Norton; v. 1 to 3.

16. 1635

Ps. tune : new

Word text by Sternhold; v. 1 and 2.

7. all parts. 1 : s.c.

The church part is in the treble. In the source it is misplaced in the tenor.

17. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1556.

Word text by Whittingham; v. 1 and 2.

The composition is ascribed to Blackhall in the
'Rowallan Cantus part-book'.

A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott is found in fourteen
Psalm-Settings, pp. 22-4.

SETTINGS OF PROPER TUNES OF THE PSALMS

18. DB





Ps. tune : new. C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; v. 1.

2. S. 1 and 2:  for . 5. S. 5 : editorial G.

A

B

5. B. 1 and 2:  for . 6. A and B. 1 and 2:
 for .

19. AM fol. 70 v.

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; v. 1, 2.

4. S. 4 : q for c. 7. S. 1 : D for E, 6. S. 3:
c for q, 6. S. 4: c for q. 7. S. 2: c for q.

7. B. 2 : G for F. 20. B. 4 and 5: q D omitted.

20. S. 3 : m for c.

See vol. I. p 151

20. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; (v) 1 and 2.

18. A. 2 : B for A. 20. S. 1 : D for E.

21. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; (v) 1 and 2.

22. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; v.1.

The melody appears only in Anglo Genevan and Scottish Psalters.

23. DB

Ps. tune : new. C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; v.2.

13. S. 3 : c for m.

24. TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB2.

Ps. tune : adaptation of Ps. 42 in Pseaumes octante trois de David - - - A Geneva, 1551. D.L.M.

Word text by Kethe; v. 1, 2.

25. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556 (set to Ps. 42). D.C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; (v) 1 and 2.

9. A. 2 : G for F. 9. A. 3 : C for A.

26. DB

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1558. D.C.M.

Word text by Whittingham; (v) 1 and 2.

1. S. 2 : C for D

27. DB

Ps. tune ; Fench Geneva Psalter, 1551. (set to Ps. 47.)

5. 5. 5. 5. Triple.

Word text by Kethe; (v) 1 to 3.

13. T. 2 : extra editorial F. 17. S. 2 : m for c.

The church part is in the treble.

28. 1635

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.L.M.

Word text by Whittingham (v) 1, 2.

29. D.B.

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.L.M.

Word text by Whittingham; (v) 1 and 2.

The church part is in the tenor (lowest voice).

30. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1562. D.L.M.

Word text by Robert Pont; (v) 1 and 2.

The church part is in the alto. (The setting in the English Psalter, 1563, is by Thomas Tallis.) Treble = TWC1; Alto = TWC2 and TWT; Tenor = TWA; Bass = TWB.

31. D.B.

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1562. D.L.M.

Word text by Pont; (v) 1, 2, 16, 17.

25. S. 1 : extra editorial A.

The church part is in the treble.

32. 1635

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1562. D.L.M.

Word text by Pont; (v) 16 and 17.

14. S. 1 : c for m. 14. S. 2 : m for c

The church part is in the tenor.

33. 1635

Ps. tune : J. Calvin's Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques
mys en chant A Strasburg, 1539 (Frost, p. 117). 11. 11.
10. 11. 10.

Word text by Kethe; (v) 1 and 2.

14. T2. 3 : q for dotted c.

34. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter 1558. 5. 5. 5. 5. D.

Word text by Whittingham; (v) 1 and 2.

Wood notes in TWA:

Johne bugen, wt his awin hand. thir bukks being
wt him in borrowing.

35. DB

Ps. tune : English Psalter, 1561. D.C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; v. 1 and 2.

In the MS. this psalm is noted incorrectly as being Ps. 59.

36. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2

Ps. tune : French Genevan Psalter, 1551 (set to Ps. 134) L.M.

Word text by Kethe; (v) 1 and 2.

37. 1635.

Ps. tune : French Genevan Psalter, 1551 (set to Ps. 134)
L.M.

Word text by Kethe; (v) 3. *A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott's found in
Fourteen Psalm-settings, pp 11.*

TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2

38. [^]Ps. tune : Anglo Genevan Psalter, 1556. D.C.M.

Word text by Sternhold and Kethe; (v) 1 and 2.

39. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : 'Vater unser in Himmelreich' from Schumann's
Gesangbuch Geistlicherlieder, 1539. 8.8.8.8.8.8.

Word text by Kethe; (v) 1 to 3.

*The tune is set to Coxe's 'Our Father which in heaven art'
in the English Psalter, 1560.)*

40. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : an adaptation of the tune to Ps. 118 in
Pseaulmes cinquante de Daud, Roy et Prophete, traduite
en vers françois par Clement Marot, et mis en musique par
Loys Bovrgeoys, à quatre parties, à voix de contrepunct,
egal consonnante au verbe. Imprimé à Lyon chez Godefroy
et Marcelin Beringer, 1547. 9. 8. 9. 8. D.

Word text by John Craig; (v.) 1 to 5.

41. 1635.

Ps. tune : new. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.

Word text by Whittingham; (v) 1 and 2.

S. Transposed down one octave throughout.
Possibly the composition of Edward Millar, musical editor
of the 1635 Scottish Psalter. (see vol. I ch. IV, P.100.)

42. DB

I. T. 3 : editorial C. 4. B. 1 : C transposed up one octave. 7. B. 2 : C transposed up one octave. 10. B. 1 : and 10. B. 2: C transposed up one octave.

The church part is in the treble.

A printed edition by Dr. K. Elliott is found in Musica Britannica xv no. 26, and also in his Fourteen Psalm - settings, p. 20

43. TWC1, TWC2, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : L. Bourgeois Pseaulmes, 1547. D.C.M.

Word text by Sternhold; (v) 1 to 3.

44. 1635.

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1564/5. D.L.M.

Word text by Craig; (v) 1 to 3.

45. TWC1, TWC2, TWA, TWT, TWB1, TWB2.

Ps. tune : an adaptation of Ps. 145 in English Psalter, 1562. D.C.M.

Word text by Norton; (v) 1 and 2.

46. 1635.

Ps. tune : an adaptation of Ps. 145 in English Psalter, 1562. D.C.M.

Word text by Norton; (v) 3 to 5.

47. DB

Ps. tune : an adaptation of Ps. 145 in English Psalter, 1562. D.C.M.

Word text by Norton; (v) 6 and Gloria. ~~F~~ for ~~D~~

10. T. 1 : m for c. 10. B. 2 : ~~A flat~~ for ~~F~~.

SETTINGS OF COMMON TUNES OF THE PSALMS

48. RE, fol. 63. + fol. 2r. for bass part

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1564/5 (set to Ps. 108). C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 30, (v) 1.

3. 8. 1 : m for c. 8. B. 1 : m for c.

5. A. 3 : c for m. 8. A. 1 : m for c. 9. 8. 2 : c for m

fol. 62v : Heir sall ye find the comone tones in three parts treble, tenor and counter.

49. 1635.

Ps. tune : set in four parts by John Farmer, Este's Psalter 1592 (where it is associated with Ps. 146). C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 46, (v) 1.

50. 1635.

Ps. tune : Scottish Psalter, 1615. C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 95, (v) 1.

51. 1635.

Ps. tune : set in four parts, Ravenscroft's Psalter, 1621 (where it is associated with Ps. 28 and 76). C.M.

Word text by Craig; Ps. 108, (v) 1.

52. 1635.

Ps. tune : new. C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 66, v. 1 and 2.

2. T. 1 : C for D. 9. B. 3 : C for B flat.

53. WS, fol. 41.

Ps. tune: Scottish Psalter, 1615. C.M.

Word Text by Sternhold; Ps. 43, (v) 3.

5. B. 3. : D for C. 10. B. 1 : for A. 10. B. 2: A
(transposed up an octave) for .

54. 1635.

Ps. tune : new. C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 86, (v) 1.

55. 1635.

Ps. tune : Este's Psalter, 1592 (set to Ps. 84.) C.M.

Word text by Hopkins; Ps. 89, (v) 1.